A YANKEE ADVENTURER

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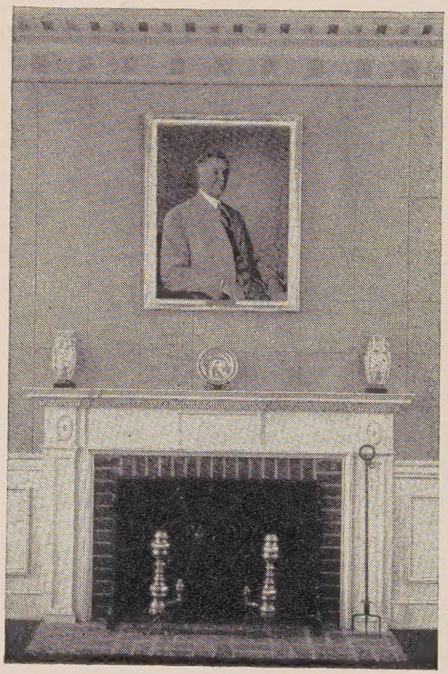

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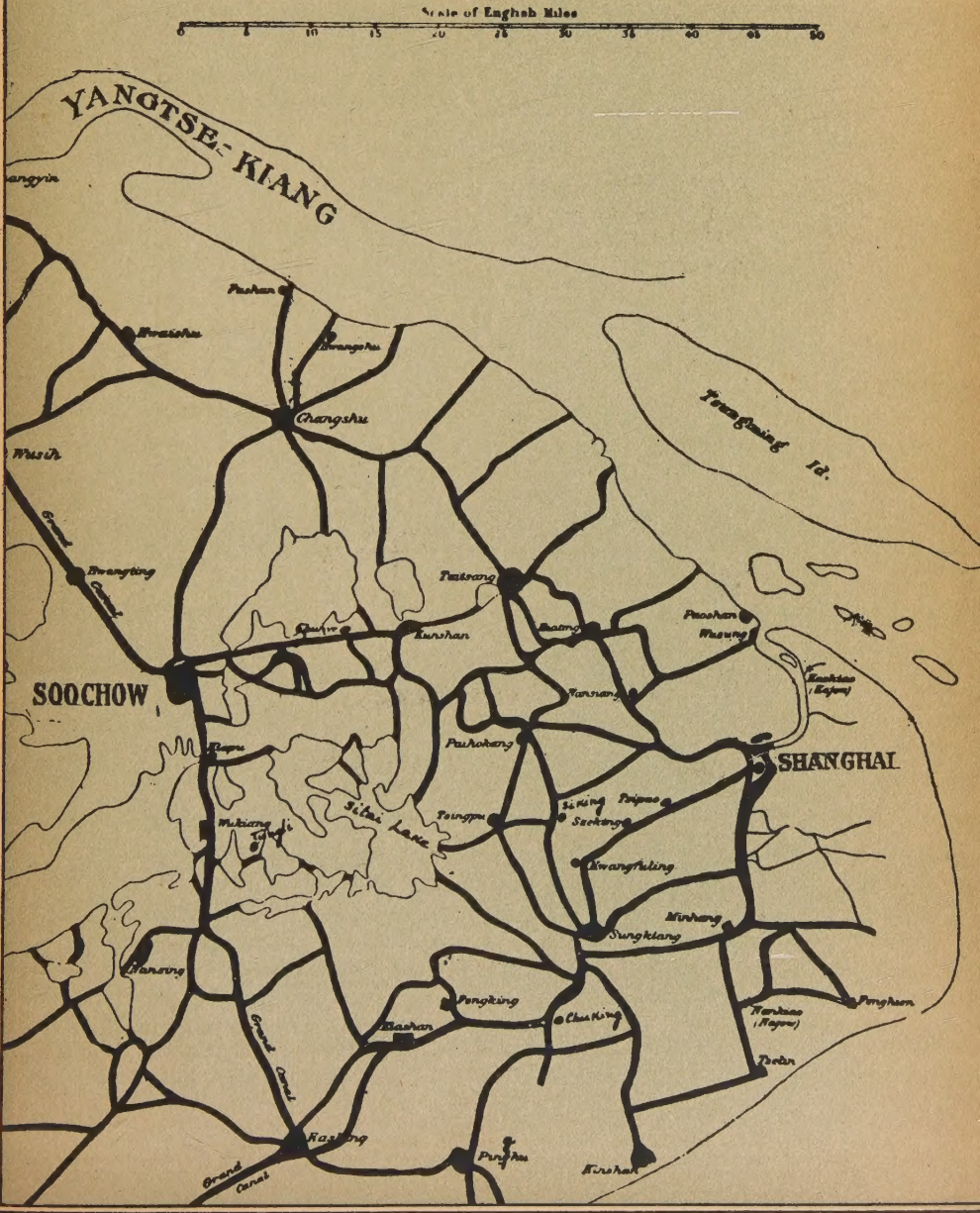
Birth place of Hung Siu tshuen the Ti ping King
Original march of the Ti-pings, from Kwangsi to Nankin and on towards Pekin in the year 1853
Ti ping settled territory at the close of the year 1861
Ditto, unsettled territory partially occupied by armies, or held during the years 1853 to 1861
Nankin the Ti ping Capital held from the middle of the year 1853 to August 1864

FIELD OF CAMPAIGNS
OF THE
EVER-VICTORIOUS ARMY



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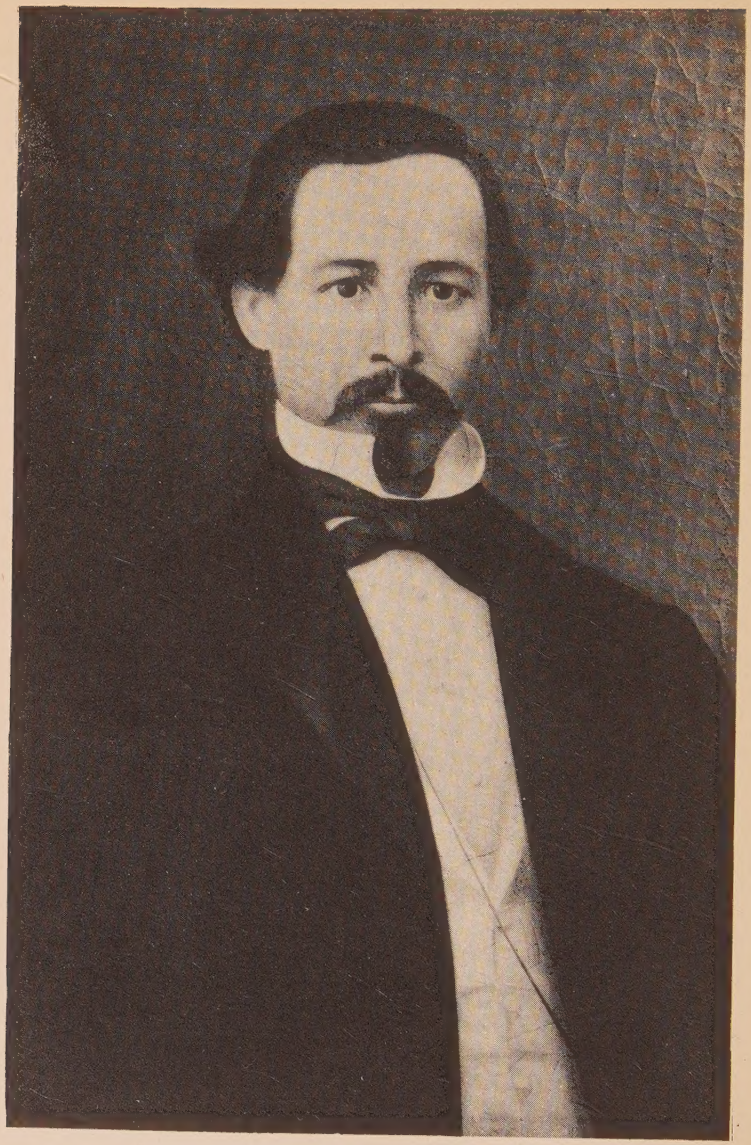

—Courtesy Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

FREDERICK TOWNSEND WARD
This portrait of the creator of the Ever Victorious Army was painted by a Chinese artist in 1860.

A YANKEE ADVENTURER

THE STORY OF WARD AND
THE TAIPING REBELLION

by Holger Cahill

New York, 1930
THE MACAULAY COMPANY

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TO

E. G. H.

"A WONDERFUL HERO FROM BEYOND THE SEAS HAS SPRINKLED CHINA WITH HIS AZURE BLOOD."

Chinese Inscription from the Tablet in the Temple Erected to Frederick Townsend Ward.

The author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the Newark Public Library, the Essex Institute and the Peabody Museum at Salem, the Boston Public Library, Norwich University at Norwich, Vermont, and the British Museum, for their generous help in finding documents and pictures relating to the life and activities of Frederick Townsend Ward.

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A YANKEE ADVENTURER

I. SALEM TO SHANGHAI

IN THE summer of 1859 a horseman rode westward from New York toward the Pacific. He crossed the Ohio and the Mississippi and rode out on the Great Plains. He was a small, dark man, with the keen eyes of a sailor. The trackless plain did not daunt him. He was used to the sea and knew how to keep his course due west. Of the terrors that lay in wait for lone travelers, of hostile Indians and wild beasts, of hunger and thirst, he thought nothing. He was following a dream that fixed his eyes upon a land far away.

The man rode west. He crossed the plains in the wake of covered wagons. In Missouri he picked up the Santa Fe trail. From Santa Fe he followed the tracks of the gold hunters, over desert and mountain, to California. The man hardly looked at land or water. He was lost in his dream. He did not expect anything to oppose him for he was not the kind of man who is used to being opposed. He knew where he was going and he was going there. In San Francisco he sold his horse and went down to the harbor to look for a ship bound for the Far East.

The San Francisco of those days was a roaring boom town. Miners were squandering fortunes torn from the earth. Shrewder men were laying the foundations of for-

tunes in trade and in railroad building. Great schemes and activities were afoot in California in 1859. In that year plans were made for the railway which ten years later was to unite East and West. All this roused no interest in our traveler. To him San Francisco was only a way station to a greater world.

The man was Frederick Townsend Ward and he was on his way to save an empire in China.

Ward was a Yankee. Most of his memories were of the sea, and of the seafaring towns of New England. He remembered the gaunt old town of Salem whose ships were vanishing from deep water. Boston had sent a railroad to take away Salem's sea trade. New York was reaching out for Boston's shipping. Life was moving on. New England was beginning to decay, to fall from her hard-headed contacts with reality into dreams of the past and into reveries of the far away countries which had made her rich. It was a far away country which now beckoned Ward, the empire of China, still little more in Western lands than a romantic tale told by sailors.

Strange stories were then coming out of China. A great rebellion had begun in the southern provinces and had swept north, reaching out for the cities of Shanghai and Ningpo, and even for Peking itself. The rebels, beginning inconspicuously in the mountain fastnesses of Kwangsi, had poured north like a torrent, triumphing over the Imperial forces in a march of a thousand miles, and had settled themselves in Nanking, the ancient capital of the Mings. The leader of the rebellion was a man who never spoke and never showed himself, but in his name great armies had moved through sixteen provinces of China.

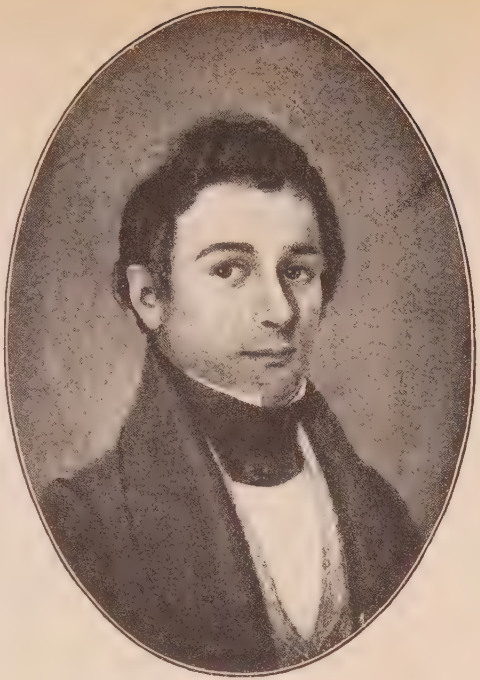
He was said to be a Christian who had inscribed on his banners a holy war upon the Manchus. Signs and portents had marked his progress. He had launched his revolt in 1850, in which year, according to an old Chinese prophecy, the Manchu dynasty was to be overthrown. At the beginning of the rebellion he had been very poor, but still had wished to mark the date of his enterprise with a religious monument. He had put workmen at the task, and while they were digging they came upon some heavy pebbles which turned out to be silver-bearing lead of great richness. With these pebbles the rebel leader paid his soldiers. At his command preachers exhorted his armies night and morning to worship the one true God, and to obey their mysterious ruler who was the familiar of the Almighty and the younger brother of Jesus Christ. Such was the leader of the Taiping rebellion, according to stories which appeared about him in Ward's day, a figure woven of legends of Prester John and the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan.

Before 1859 the rebellion had reached a stalemate. Imperial China, entangled in wars with England and France, was powerless to suppress it. The rebels could not push their dominion north of the Yangtze. The two forces swayed across China, with millions of souls in their train, destroying cities and whole provinces. The armed forces of Europe in Shanghai, Ningpo, and Hong Kong stood by in the enforced idleness of neutrality. Not so adventurers and soldiers of fortune. Many men of this ubiquitous breed found service on both sides. Word had been passed that there was good service here, plenty of loot, and per-

haps even an empire to gain. It was this vision that drew Ward to China.

Frederick Townsend Ward was born with the clipper ship, and there is in his life story something of the tremendous spread of sail, of the speed and romance that made the clipper the queen of the Eastern seas. His life was short, but it crowded much into its span. It reads like the dream of that soldier of the T'ang dynasty who drowsed one day over his wine cup and dreamed that elves came and bore him away to the land of their king, where he was hospitably received, fêted with royal splendor, and made governor of a province which he ruled for many years. When the soldier woke he found that he had slept but a moment.

Ward's forebears were of old Puritan stock. His father, Frederick Gamaliel Ward, was a ship's master, and later a ship's broker and merchant. At twenty-one he had married Elizabeth Colburn Spencer, a young woman descended from a leading Salem family, and of some local fame as a writer of verse. Their first child was Frederick Townsend, born in Salem on November 29th, 1831. There was behind Frederick Townsend Ward a family of merchants, mariners, and soldiers. His first ancestor in America was Miles Ward, who came to Salem in 1639 from Erith in Kent, a little town on the Thames a few miles below London. This Miles was a man of some substance, and it has been supposed by genealogical writers on old Salem that he may have been the third son of Henry Ward, lord of the manors of Kirby Beden, Postwick, and Great Plumstead, and member of parliament for Norwich.



FREDERICK GAMALIEL WARD

ELIZABETH COLBURN WARD

Ward's parents. From miniature portraits painted in oil on ivory in 1840.
—Courtesy Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

From Miles Ward, the pioneer, the line runs through a stout lot of New England worthies who were related to the best families of Salem. The Hathornes, ancestors of Nathaniel Hawthorne, the Derbys, Pickerings, Putnams, Bowditches, Holyokes, Choatses, and other prominent families of the town were their connections by blood or by marriage. Miles Ward, grandson of the first Miles, was a famous old patriarch whose fine gambrel-roofed house is still standing on Derby street fronting the decayed harbor of Salem. He died August 20th, 1764, an honored citizen and a deacon of the church. A Boston newspaper said of him: "On the 20th of last month, died in Salem Deacon Miles Ward, aged 92 years. He was of a chearful disposition, which he retained with his memory to the last. He never had been ill till very lately, and then only weak and lame from age. He was able to give a very particular account of things done upwards of 80 years ago. He was a person of good conversation, a good neighbor and friend, and a sincere though chearful Christian. His first wife was the daughter of Mr. John Massey, who was the first English male child born in Massachusetts Colony. . . . A week before his death Deacon Ward told a relative that went to see him, that he had had 19 weddings of his own children, and all married into different families; that he had 91 children and grandchildren, 26 males of the name of Ward, now living; that he had 27 children of the 4th generation and not a fatherless child in all his family."

Miles Ward, the son of Deacon Miles, served as a commissioned officer at the siege of Louisburg and under General Wolfe at Quebec. His son, Samuel, was a naval

officer in the Revolution. Little is known of him except that he varied the duties of a naval officer with the vocation of a distiller. Gamaliel Hodges Ward, son of Samuel and grandfather of Frederick Townsend, was commander of the privateer *Henry* in the War of 1812. Two other Wards, granduncles of Frederick Townsend, served in the War of 1812, one as lieutenant in the United States Navy, the other as naval officer of the port of Salem.

Such were the Wards, solid citizens in the community, but known as men of irascible temper, and violent when aroused. They were apt to be choleric, those mariners of old New England, the sun of tropical seas doing little to cool their spirits. This violence of temper reached the pitch of insanity in one or two of the Wards. The story of Gamaliel Hodges Ward reveals one of the family skeletons of Salem. In 1822 he was tried for taking a horse from a stable and not returning it again. His enemies said that he stole the horse out of drunken bravado. He pleaded in his defense that he had been suffering from a temporary fit of insanity. The effects of the sun on the Coromandel Coast in 1802, he said, had caused him for several months to be deranged so that he "was incapable of judging of, or attending to any business; and several times since, from extraordinary causes and imprudent exposure, I have been temporarily deranged in the same way; and at the time this little indiscretion was committed it was caused by imprudently exposing myself at Boston and Charlestown at the fires this season."

He said that his father and his grandfather had been subject to these temporary aberrations caused by exposure to the sun and extraordinary exertions. The prime mover

in the prosecution of Gamaliel Hodges Ward was his father-in-law, Moses Townsend. Townsend said that "Gamaliel has been round my house nights on horseback. Two nights I had to set up for fear of him." Another man claimed that Ward had threatened to burn Townsend's house down. Gamaliel retorted that his father-in-law was persecuting him. There was no love lost between these two, though Townsend was kind to Gamaliel's children, especially to Frederick Gamaliel Ward, father of Frederick Townsend, who lived at the Townsend house from time to time.

This Moses Townsend was one of the considerable men of Salem in his day. With his father he had fought in the Revolution and had been a prisoner of war in England. After the Revolution he became rich by his own efforts, and rose to local eminence. He was a forceful character and a dangerous man to cross, particularly in his religious views. Robert S. Rantoul says of him: "Moses Townsend was one of the pillars of the old East Church. He sat well up in front, and disliked so much to see a strange face in the lofty pulpit above him that the obnoxious intruder did not often get far in his service before discovering the fact. Upon the preacher's giving voice to some expression widely at variance with the doctrines to which his hearers were accustomed to listen, an audible murmur of dissent would find its way through the front pews, and those who sat near the Townsend pew were pretty sure to hear the suppressed comment, 'That's a damn'd lie!'—accented as often as not by a sharp rap on the sanded floor from the old man's heavy walking stick."

In 1805 Moses Townsend built a brick mansion at the

corner of Carlton and Derby streets, Salem. In this house Frederick Townsend Ward was born, and in it much of his boyhood was spent. It was a dignified three-storey mansion, a fine example of the best days of Salem architecture and craftsmanship. Just below the Townsend house was Crowninshield's Wharf. Here Ward often played with the youngsters of the neighborhood, and here he made his first acquaintance with the sea and with seamanship. Almost nothing is left of Crowninshield's Wharf to-day, except a tumulus of earth and stones. The other wharves of Salem harbor are no more than vestigial remains. Most of them are given over to ruinous shacks, house wreckers' yards, ice houses, and coal yards. All about the neighborhood are landmarks of the Salem that has gone by. It seems appropriate that within a few blocks of the Townsend house are the Old Ladies' Home and the Home for Aged Men.

The youngsters who now play about the ruins of Salem harbor think little of the sea or of ships. But in Ward's day Salem still knew fleets of stately East Indiamen that kept her in touch with distant lands. Her wharves were piled high with the goods of the East, with spices and muslins from India, and teas and silks from China. Salem merchants spoke of Cape Horn as if it were near at hand, and could tell wild tales of Madagascar and the Gold Coast. Anybody in the Salem of that day, says Harriet Martineau, "would give you anecdotes from Canton and descriptions of the Society and Sandwich Islands. They often slip up the western coast of their two continents, bringing furs from the back regions of their own wide land, glance up at the Andes on their return, double Cape

Horn, touch at the ports of Brazil and Guiana, look about them in the West Indies, feeling almost at home there, and land some fair morning in Salem and walk home as if they had done nothing remarkable."

The lands of the distant East meant a great deal to the merchant mariners of New England in the first half of the 19th century. Indeed there had been a connection between the Far East and America from the days of the continent's discovery. It was to find Cathay and the Indies that Columbus sailed. The mariners of the 16th and 17th centuries who explored the eastern coast of North America were led on by their belief in a Northwest Passage. Trade with China and the Indies was a golden lure to Yankee shipowners, and it furnished more than a little capital for the early commercial and industrial development of New England.

Behind this development was a race of hardy and adventurous sailors who had been trained in fishery, in the trade with the West Indies, in privateering, and even in piracy. A curious light on the rise of American seamanship is given by Latourette. He says: "The spirit of adventure needed in the initiation of long voyages to China had received cultivation from piracy. For instance, in the last years of the 17th century the waters north of Madagascar were infested with a band of marauders who fitted out their ships, obtained their supplies, and spent their ill gotten gains in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, and the Carolinas." The ships were said to have been manned largely by New Englanders and New Yorkers.

The greatest force in stimulating the spirit of enterprise needed for the trade with the Far East was pri-

vateering, and Salem was the home port of 158 privateers during the Revolution. Salem's privateers captured 444 prizes, more than half the total number of British ships taken by the Colonies during the first war with England. The merchants of Salem made large fortunes in privateering and developed through it a surplus of shipping far too large for the coasting trade after the Revolution. With this fleet of sturdy and well-manned vessels on their hands, Salem ship owners were not slow to turn their property into the more peaceful, though equally lucrative, mercantile pursuits.

The leading Salem ship owner of this period was Elias Hasket Derby, member of a prominent family of maritime merchants related by marriage to the Wards. The most famous of Derby's privateers, the *Grand Turk*, built in 1781, was the second American vessel in China, reaching Canton in 1785. Other Salem vessels were not slow to follow. Impetus was given the Far Eastern trade by the European wars following the French Revolution when the ships of the United States became the common carriers of Europe. During this period there were sometimes as many as forty American ships entered at the port of Canton in one year. The crews of these ships gave the Chinese their first acquaintance with Americans. The Chinese called the Yankee sailors the "New People."

Mariners and shipowners dominated Salem in its best days. They were the great men of the town and molded its industries and its manners. There were always retired sea captains on the Salem board of aldermen, and once the town had a retired sea captain for mayor. These men brought the salt air of the quarterdeck to the council

chamber. Rantoul in his biography of Ward says that a "humble suitor once came before the board to urge his prayer, and was rather curtly dismissed. 'You'll give a man a hearing, won't you?' pleaded the retiring petitioner. 'Hearing? No!' shouted an alderman with profane emphasis, forgetting for the moment that he was no longer in command, 'we are not here to give hearings! We are here to give orders!'"

When one of these worthies came to live ashore, says Rantoul, "and to drive his pair, the nigh horse might well be known as 'Port' and the off horse as 'Starboard.' If he built himself a den to doze and smoke and read and chat in, it was likely to be rounded at the sides and top like a ship's cabin, and furnished with transoms for air, if not with bunks, and to have a swinging light overhead, and spyglass, barometer and compass handy. Over his dinner table swung, in summer, the East-Indian punkah. The dust and cobwebs under the eaves of his attic concealed camphor-trunks and cedar-trunks stuffed with camel's-hair shawls and pongee silks and seersucker suits, with now and then a bit of bronze or Nanking ware or silver filagree or lacquer, and unbroached casks of Canton ware might lie in hiding behind the wood-pile in his cellar. Would he honor some guest with special attention? A log or two of sandal-wood, brought home for dunnage, might puff and sizzle on the fire-dogs, and fill the house with a spicy breath from Araby."

The Wards were prominent among the shipmasters who made the maritime prosperity of Salem. The Marine Society, founded in 1766 by shipmasters, had nine Wards on its roll of five hundred and sixty names. The East

India Marine Society, founded after Salem's privateering ventures during the Revolution had called into being her East India fleet, had as members six Wards and several Hodges, Lamberts, and Townsends. These were Frederick Townsend Ward's people, as fine a lot of seamen as Salem could boast. Every member of the East India Marine Society must have doubled the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn as master or supercargo of a ship.

Salem's maritime prosperity reached its peak between the Revolution and the War of 1812. After that, up to the 1840's, Salem continued to hold her overseas trade, though she was being overshadowed by the ports of Boston and New York. Her warehouses were still filled with the products of Sumatra, Ceylon, the Gold Coast, India, and China. This was the period of the clipper ship, the first child of the age of speed.

The history of the clippers goes back to Colonial days and to the wars with England. Speed had not been the first consideration in building ships until the American colonies designed vessels to evade the Spanish coast guard cruisers in the West Indies, and to outsail the British in the Revolution and in the War of 1812. The clipper ships were designed on the lines of the American privateers. They were built with sharp lines, long and narrow, with hollow bows, the sides going back from the cutwater in a concave curve. Their greatest width of beam was further aft than in previous ships, and the stern was narrower. The clippers usually had raking masts and carried a great spread of canvas. They were very fast. Many of them made the voyage from Canton to New England in ninety days and less.

In Frederick Townsend Ward's youth the clipper ships brought China close to Salem, but it was mostly the pidgin China of sea traders and merchants. Of the real China the traders knew little. Just about the time that Ward was preparing for high school the first American treaty with China was signed. This was in 1844. The letter which Caleb Cushing of Newburyport, who arranged the treaty, carried from President Tyler to the Emperor of China, is a masterpiece of a curious kind, said to have been written by Daniel Webster. Some of it is worth quoting:

"I hope your health is good. China is a great empire, extending over a great part of the world. The Chinese are numerous. You have millions and millions of subjects. The twenty-six United States are as large as China, but our people are not so numerous. The rising sun looks upon the great mountains and great rivers of China. When he sets he looks upon rivers and mountains equally large in the United States. Our territories extend from one great ocean to the other; on the west we are divided from your dominions only by the sea. Leaving the mouth of one of our great rivers and going constantly toward the setting sun, we sail to Japan and to the Yellow Sea."

This document was bound in purple plush like an old-fashioned family album, and was intended to impress a people who had developed the most subtle and refined domestic arts of which the world has knowledge.

Though the traders knew little of China's arts and letters, mercantile China was very familiar to them. When Ward was a schoolboy, Salem had an "Asiatic Bank," and an "Oriental Insurance Office," both located in the "East India Marine Hall," which now houses the

Peabody Museum. In this hall met the East India Marine Society which used to celebrate the Fourth of July with a floral procession at dawn, headed by a palanquin in which reclined a Salem beauty dressed as a princess of the Orient. The homes of Salem were filled with Oriental bric-a-brac and with the rich stuffs of the East. Even the kitchen gardens of the town were stocked with exotic vegetables brought from India and China.

When Salem families returned from residence abroad, says Rantoul, "it was not unusual to bring with them Chinese cooks, nurse-maids, and house servants . . . all our surroundings beguiled the fancy seaward. It was a common thing for college graduates, before entering the counting-room or a profession, to make the grand tour in an Indiaman or a China-bound clipper."

Such was the town that shaped the early life of Frederick Townsend Ward. From all accounts of him, Ward was a lively boy, full of good humor, and quite a favorite among the youth of Salem. He was small and wiry, with intense dark eyes and straight black hair, a fighter of great skill and courage when occasion demanded, and an expert swimmer and sailor. On board the fifteen-ton sloop-yacht *Vivid*, owned by his father, he received early training in seamanship. This yacht was anchored at the wharf owned by the Crowninshield family, one of the famous shipmaster families of Salem. Benjamin Crowninshield was Secretary of the Navy under Madison. George Crowninshield owned *Cleopatra's Barge*, the first American private yacht. But the greatest member of the family, to the youngsters of Salem, was Jacob Crownin-

shield, who brought from India the first elephant seen in America, and led it through the streets of Salem to the wonder and the huge delight of the town.

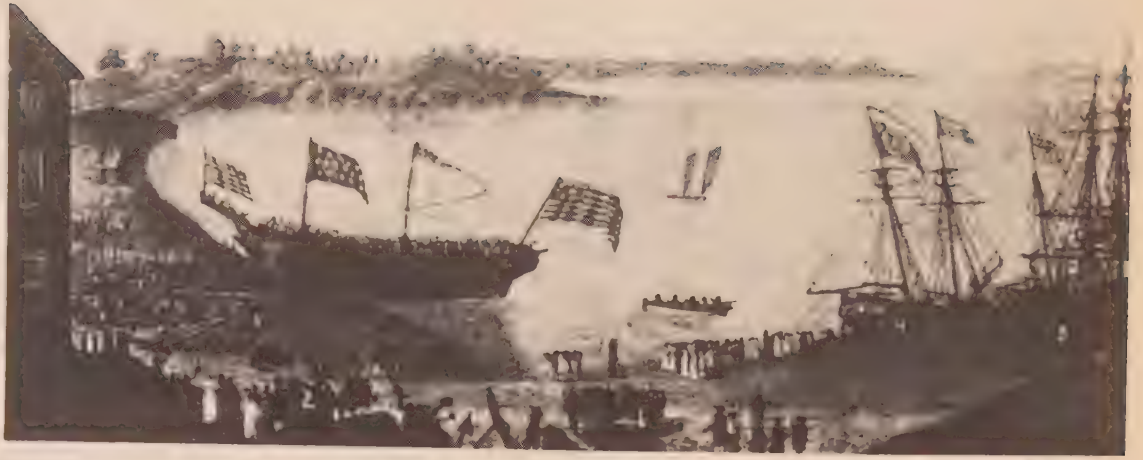
Ward was permitted to sail the *Vivid* in all weathers. That he was an able sailor before his 'teens is established by the following anecdote, told by Rantoul: "An evening sail had been planned to carry delicacies to an ailing friend at Beverly, and a crew of youngsters were taken aboard, together with Ward's mother, who was young and strong and a good sailor,—a younger son and daughter of the family, and the boy hero, not yet twelve years old, who was at the helm. A lady-friend, who was a singer, was with them. All went well until the party, on its return, sailed into a thunderstorm, when the tuneful guest began to sing hymns with the ardor of Cromwell's Ironsides or of the Plymouth Pilgrims as pictured in the verse of Mrs. Hemans. The smaller boys had already been landed at Beverly and sent home over the Bridge. The darkness became Stygian. There was no lighthouse then on Derby Wharf, and Baker's Island Light was all they had for bearings. They carried neither light nor chart nor compass. The sea ran high. The Aqua Vitae Ledge was near at hand, revealed by lightning flashes, now bare, now yeasty with foam at every wave. Wind and rain assailed them with all their fury. Little sail could be carried. The situation was full of peril. Towards midnight they reached home safe, to find the town awake with panic. Throughout the scene Ward sat with a firm hand on the tiller, speechless as the sphynx. His only comment, when the incident was over, and his father held him in his arms stifling reproof with caresses, was this: 'When the lightning-

flashes showed us who were there, I wished myself at home. It would have been all right if it had not been for the women.' "

Young Ward had a sense of humor often expressed in the practical jokes of the man of action. Rantoul says that "Ward often indulged in a prank which startled rather than amused the unsuspecting. Seated idly on the sill of the wharf, he would suddenly drop into the dock, and with such art as to raise the cry of 'boy overboard,' and he would watch with zest the measures taken for his rescue. Even his boyish pride in a new suit of clothes would not restrain him when conditions favored."

Ward had as good a schooling as other boys of his class in Salem. He attended the Dames' School for the Children of Ladies and Gentlemen, kept by the Misses Peirce in Essex Street, the Old East School on Salem Common, the Phillips School, and the Hacker School, before entering the English High School, in 1845.

From his boyhood days he yearned for the life of a soldier. The sea called him, as it called any boy brought up in Salem in those days, but the army called him more. While he was in the English High School he tried for an appointment to West Point. Failing there he tried to run away to the Mexican War. In the middle of January, 1847, the first company of Mexican War volunteers raised in Massachusetts passed through Salem. They were paraded through the town by their captain, Edward Webster, son of the famous Daniel. Young Ward was so stirred by the sight of these doughty warriors that he decided to steal off to the wars then and there. With a boy of his own age as comrade-in-arms he set out for Mexico.



Courtesy Essex Institute, Salem, Mass

CROWNINSHIELD WHARF, SALEM

The launching of the "Fame" at Crowninshield's Wharf in 1802. Playing at this wharf Ward learned his first lessons in seamanship.

This first journey of his was cut short. He and his comrade were overtaken near Revere and brought back to Salem.

After that, with rumors of war in the air, Salem became a dull town for Ward. To keep him from running away again his father packed him off to sea. In April, 1847, he left the English High School and sailed for China in the clipper ship *Hamilton,* which was commanded by Captain William Henry Allen, an uncle of his by marriage. Ward already had so much knowledge of the sea and ships that he was given the berth of second mate.

The position of a boy of sixteen placed in authority over a watch of forecastle hands, many of whom had been full-fledged sailors before he was born, was not an easy one. That he was still very much a boy is proved by a story told by Captain Allen, that Ward, while the *Hamilton* was driving through tropic seas under full sail, plunged overboard in wild pursuit of a butterfly which was fluttering about the ship. Captain Allen fished him out and read him a lecture on the dignity becoming a second mate. On the whole young Ward must have done well on his first trip, for Captain Allen reported him to the owners as a smart, capable, and efficient officer.

Ward seems to have realized on this voyage that the sea was not for him. When he returned the military bee was still in his bonnet. Perhaps he lacked the mercantile instinct so necessary to success in the old days of Yankee shipping. The shipmasters of New England, like the Phœnicians, were merchants as well as navigators. Captains were allowed considerable cargo space on their own account as well as commissions on business which they picked up on the voyage. Every ship bound for the East

carried a lot of speculations which friends and relatives in home port entrusted to captain or supercargo. Many of these shrewd Yankee skippers were able to buy ships of their own from the profits of two or three voyages. Ward had little of this Phœnician instinct, and so was not allured by the dream of ships and a counting house all his own. He wanted to be a soldier.

When he returned from his first voyage he persuaded his father to give him one more chance at a military career. Late in 1847 he was sent to Norwich University, the old American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy, at Norwich, Vermont. He stayed there about two years. The family's finances were in a rather low state at the time, so his military education had to be cut short. The history of Norwich University lists Ward among the non-graduates of 1848. At Norwich he was firmly grounded in the schools of the soldier, the company, and the battalion and he laid foundations for the knowledge of military engineering and military tactics which stood him in such good stead during his later career.

In 1849 Ward was out of Norwich and on board the *Russell Glover* as first mate. His father was captain of the ship. The *Russell Glover* made the voyage 'round the Horn, sailing out of New York on December 16th, 1849. On May 6th, 1850, the ship was in San Francisco, probably with passengers bound for the California gold fields. The *Russell Glover* was laid up for a long time at San Francisco. Young Ward was kept on board as ship-keeper. The record does not tell why the ship was laid up, but it was in all likelihood because of the desertion of the crew. It was not uncommon in the days of the gold fever for

crews and officers to leave their vessels stranded on San Francisco beach where they were often turned into hotels, lodging houses, and saloons. One of them was even made over into a jail. It has been recorded that in the year 1850 there were five hundred deserted ships in San Francisco Bay.

Young Ward hated the inactive life of a ship-keeper. His impetuous temperament could not endure the monotony. During the summer he left the ship to lose himself in stormy adventures among the troubled republics of Latin America. It seems strange that the gold fever did not touch Ward at a time when hundreds of sailors were striking out for the gold fields, and boatloads of Salem gold hunters were landed at San Francisco singing their California song:

"I come from Salem City
With my wash-bowl on my knee;
I'm going to California
The gold dust for to see."

The year between 1850 and 1851 is a blank page in Ward's story. There are many such blanks in his career, for he was always a rover and many pages of his life are lost below the horizons of his wandering. With his military training, his experience as a ship's officer in handling men, his organizing ability and courage, Ward never had much trouble selling his services as a soldier of fortune. Norwich University had given him a foundation in military science. Discipline he had learned in the stern school

of the sea. It has been said that at this time he served under Garibaldi. The story is improbable, though he may have met Garibaldi in Central America, and he may have served under him as ship's officer. Whether or not Ward met Garibaldi, he knew of the exploits of the Italian Liberator. His imagination was stirred by the deeds of the man, and he decided that if he could not be an officer in the regular army of the United States he would be a soldier of fortune like Garibaldi. After a year of adventure in Central America Ward returned to San Francisco in 1851 and sailed from there as first mate on a bark bound for China. He left the ship at Shanghai and for a time was an officer on one of the opium ships in the Wusung river.

In 1852 Ward reappeared in the American merchant marine service as first mate of the clipper ship *Gold Hunter* bound from Shanghai for Tehuantepec. Here he met William Walker and associated himself with that famous filibuster as a drillmaster. The *Gold Hunter* brought a number of immigrants who were to be colonized in Nicaragua. It is not known whether these immigrants were Chinese, or whether they had been picked up by the *Gold Hunter* in California. Many Californians were then going to Central America. A year later, Walker, with an army made up mostly of Californians, began his filibustering adventure which aimed at the creation of a Yankee state in Central America. It is possible that the immigrants of the *Gold Hunter* were the advance guard of American colonists who were to form Walker's army.

Nicaragua, then as now, was very much in the public eye. Prince Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, who had been sent by French capitalists to report on the practica-

bility of an Isthmian canal, published a pamphlet in 1846 in which he prophesied a great future for the Isthmus. Leon, in Nicaragua, he said, was destined to become another Constantinople. He proposed to unite the Atlantic and the Pacific by building a canal west from the lakes of Nicaragua. The need for an Isthmian canal had long been felt by many Americans. These were anxious to put the United States in a position of control over the projected canal zones to forestall the ambitions of European capitalists. It was planned to colonize Nicaragua, capture the government, and set up a Republic which should be recognized by the United States. The military leader in this scheme of colonization and conquest was William Walker. Many other Americans, some of them men of high repute, were involved with Walker. Joseph Warren Fabens, of Salem, a Harvard man, was United States Consul-General in Nicaragua at this time, and was also director of colonization.

Ward became interested in Walker's scheme and was with the filibuster for about a year, between 1852 and 1853. Walker's adventure was at the high point of its success three years later. In March and April, 1856, he was in control of Nicaragua, had set up a provisional government, and his envoys had been recognized at Washington. In 1857 he was forced to quit and to dissolve his provisional government. He was back again in Nicaragua in 1858 at the head of another expedition. The fate that waited for Maximilian in Mexico overtook Walker on September 3rd, 1860, when his career was cut short by a Nicaraguan firing squad.

The failure of Walker's adventure in Nicaragua, and

the disrepute which attaches to failure, has made most writers on Ward gloss over this period in Central America. But the fact remains that Walker's attempts to found a Yankee state on the Isthmus were just as respectable as the activities of many other "empire builders" of the nineteenth century. When Ward was with Walker the adventure was just beginning. Great things were expected of it by men who aided it and many of whom were later honored with high positions by President Lincoln.

Still the Walker adventure was not in Ward's line. It was not sufficiently Garibaldian in character to suit him. After he had spent a year helping the "grey-eyed man of destiny" organize his army, he left and went to Mexico. There he found favor with President Alvarez and was offered a commission in the Mexican army, which he refused. In Mexico Ward met a prospector named Wheat who had been an officer in the American army, and who later became a Confederate brigadier. With this man he engaged in a project for shipping cargoes of scrap metal to New York. The project fell through, and Ward found himself penniless in Southern Mexico. This does not seem to have bothered him. He had learned to speak Spanish by this time, and he set out, riding a burro, to make his way across the country to California. The hazards of such a journey in the nature of hunger and thirst, exposure, disease, and hostile encounters with men and beasts were terrific in the year 1853. Ward made the journey, somehow. He appeared in San Francisco late in 1853, and signed as first mate of the clipper ship, *Westward Ho!*

The *Westward Ho!* was one of the finest of the Yankee clippers, ranking with the *Sovereign of the Seas, The*

—*Courtesy Peabody Museum, Salem.*

THE WESTWARD HO!

One of the finest of the Yankee clipper ships. Ward was its second mate in 1854. He was thrown overboard by a crew angered by his strict discipline, but fought his way back to quell the mutiny.

Comet, and the *Flying Cloud*. She was manned by a crew of superb seamen, but a pretty rough lot to handle. They resented the stern discipline imposed by their stripling first mate. Off Cape Horn their resentment came to a head. They took Ward and threw him overboard. Ward kept himself above water, and managed to get hold of a bight of the mainsheet which was hanging over the side. He got back on board without assistance. The relations between the first mate and the forecastle were cool after that. But Ward imposed his discipline. The crew made up its mind that he was a hard man to keep down.

Ward, in those early seafaring days, learned how to handle all sorts of men. He knew how to discipline a rebellious crew, and even how to deal with a mutiny. One Captain Paul, who commanded clipper ships for A. A. Low and Brother, owners of the famous *Oriental*, tells how Ward quelled a mutiny in the Bay of Bengal. Captain Paul's ship was making for the Hugli River, on which the city of Calcutta lies, when a fierce squall came up. The crew was stunned by the suddenness of the storm and refused to go aloft to take in sail. The ship, with a full spread of canvas, was at the mercy of the storm. Captain Paul and the mates had exhausted the usual seamen's persuaders, belaying pins and the like. The crew had come to open mutiny. It was then that Ward, the first mate, showed the quality of desperate courage which was to distinguish him in the Taiping rebellion. He went to the powder locker, took a keg of powder, and knocked in its head. Running to the cook's galley he seized a burning brand of wood from the stove. With the keg of powder

in one hand and a flaming brand in the other, he appeared among the crew and threatened to blow them and the ship to hell unless the mutineers went aloft. One look at Ward was enough for the crew. They went aloft and the ship was saved.

In 1854 Ward took the berth of first mate on the *Black Warrior*. The ship was owned by John Bertram, the last of Salem's great maritime merchants. In the winter of 1854 the *Black Warrior* made home port, and Ward was reunited with his family in Salem. He did not stay there long. Salem was then rapidly declining as a seaport. The schooners which carried on a coasting trade with Canada were replacing East Indiamen and China clippers at Salem wharves. Ward saw the beginning of the end for Yankee shipping. The end came shortly after. John Bertram, owner of the *Black Warrior,* was beginning, in the 1850's, to turn his capital into railroad building and manufacturing. This Bertram had been a privateer in the War of 1812. Before his death he had "lived to see his country's flag almost vanish from the blue water, its superb merchant marine dwindle to almost nothing."

East Indiamen were cut down to coal barges in Salem. The drone of spindles in cotton mills began to be heard along the water front, where the decks of the stately clipper ships had echoed with the roaring chanties of sailormen bringing home strange cargoes from the East.

"A Yankee sloop came down the river,
Ha, ha, rolling John.
Oh, what do you think that sloop had in her?

Ha, ha, rolling John.
Monkey's hide and bullock's liver,
Ha, ha, rolling John."

The sons of Salem were turning from the wild embrace of the sea. Mariners were becoming ship's brokers. Ship owners were becoming heads of factories. The office and the drawing room were supplanting the quarterdeck and the ship's cabin among the leading families of Salem. After his return home in the *Black Warrior*, Ward too renounced the sea. He turned again to his first love, a military career.

His first venture was in the Crimean War where he served with the French army. Augustus Allen Hayes, a Harvard man who knew Ward in Shanghai, is authority for the statement that Ward was a lieutenant in the French army in the Crimea, and that he resigned his commission by request because of a difference with a superior officer. It is not an improbable story. Ward was a fairly apt linguist and may have had a working knowledge of French. He had enough military training and experience of battle to make him a first rate combat officer. Still this Crimean episode is a bit vague. The years which followed it are vague too. Of Ward's wanderings between 1855 and 1859 we know next to nothing. Now and again he would appear in his father's office in New York. Of his adventures he said little. He was a doer, not a talker. He does not appear anywhere in the American merchant marine service during these years, but seems to have roamed around, mostly in South America, bartering his sword and his courage for the experiences of a soldier of fortune.

Certainly he made little money in this employment, for when he returned to his father's office in 1859 he was out of funds. The only record of this part of Ward's career is in the letters he wrote to his family. These letters contained brief references to his connection with revolutionary enterprises in Mexico and in South America, and mentioned the names of Garibaldi, Juarez, and the dictator Manuel Rosas. There were enough revolutions in the two Americas in those days to keep a man of Ward's ardent military temper busily employed.

In 1859 Ward made a serious attempt to settle down with his father as a ship's broker in New York. The attempt was of short duration. The daily routine of office work did not appeal to him. The story of how he ended his brief career as a ship's broker may be apocryphal, but it is characteristic of the man. He had been working with his father for several months with a not too brilliant success. One morning he came to the office and felt the wanderlust strong upon him. He went out and got his horse, packed his few belongings, came back to the office and locked it, and then rode west. The ride ended in California. At San Francisco he took ship for China.

When Ward arrived in Shanghai early in 1860, the city was in a panic of fear. The Taiping rebels, who for several years had been confined to Nanking, were becoming active again. Before summer they had smashed the cordon of their besiegers and moved toward the Yellow Sea, taking the important cities of Changchow and Soochow, and had advanced to a circle of towns within thirty miles of Shanghai. The line along which the Taipings were moving

was similar to that taken by the Chinese Nationalist army in 1927, when the Northern defenders of Shanghai made their last stand at Sungkiang, about thirty miles up the Huangpu River from Shanghai. In 1860, the Taipings, led by the ablest of their generals, the Loyal King, had taken Sungkiang, and were preparing to invest Shanghai.

With the Taipings menacing Shanghai, the officials and merchants of the city, convinced that the Imperial government was powerless to protect them, turned to the Europeans for aid. The European traders had let it be known that they would not have Shanghai disturbed by the presence of Chinese troops. They felt their trade to be more important than a Chinese civil war, and they had warned both sides that any interference with trade would be severely punished. The Taipings, who practiced a kind of Christianity, and who called the Christian nations their brothers, were reluctant to challenge the military power of the West. After the spring of 1860, however, they felt it essential to occupy Shanghai, and they tried first by friendly overtures and then by threat of battle to bring the Europeans to their point of view. The Europeans would not be persuaded. The Chinese of Shanghai were quick to see that the Taiping threat aligned the Westerners with the Imperialists. Wu, the Shanghai Taotai, or intendant, appealed to them for help.

This was not the first time that Wu had appealed to the foreigners. In 1853, when the Taipings took Nanking, he had feared for Shanghai's safety and asked for French and British aid against the rebels. The British refused because at that time they wanted to be neutral in the rebellion. The French, who favored the Imperialist side,

helped drive back the rebels from time to time, but they did not to any extent, up to the 1860's, take the offensive against them.

In 1860 the European forces in Shanghai were not in a mood to help the Imperialists. The French and British ministers on their way to Peking had been fired on at the entrance of the Pei-ho. This led to open war with the Imperial government. France and Britain were preparing an expedition against Peking, making Shanghai the base of their operations. The Shanghai Chinese had to be satisfied with the services of unattached foreigners. As is usual in such eventualities, they found mercenaries in plenty ready to protect Shanghai for a cash consideration.

Most of the money with which to pay these mercenaries was provided in a way peculiarly Chinese. It is worthy of notice here, for it has furnished Europeans with a perennial grievance against China. The money was supplied from funds provided by the system of *likin* tolls. The name, *likin,* was applied to a tariff levied on merchandise in transit through China. The tolls are collected at barriers usually placed at provincial boundaries, though barriers also are placed in the interior of provinces. *Likin* means "one in a thousand." The tax was originally put at one tenth of one per cent, but the amounts actually collected on shipments of goods sometimes ran to twenty per cent of their value. The *likin* system was first instituted in the 1850's to bolster up provincial finances, and to help defray the expenses of the Taiping rebellion. It has been so irritating to foreign merchants in China that no conference on Chinese custom tariffs has been complete without a wrangle about it.

Into the turmoil of threatening Taipings, fear-stricken Imperialists, and hostile Europeans came Frederick Townsend Ward. He was without money or influence. He had nothing but the limitless ambition and courage which had brought him to China. As ship's officer he had made a few acquaintances among Shanghai merchants. Through these men he found employment as first mate of a steamer on the Yangtze. He showed his mettle while engaged in this service. A prominent Chinese merchant of Shanghai who took passage on the ship tells how Ward saved it and its passengers from destruction. The vessel had grounded. The tide was falling. The river swarmed with pirates ready to attack at the first opportunity. The captain believed destruction so certain that he talked of suicide. Ward took his place, put heart into the crew, stood the pirates off, and got the steamer afloat.

Ward's reason for going into this river service is not clear. It is probable that he intended to leave it at the earliest opportunity to join the rebels. On his voyages up the river he might easily have made contact with the Taipings. It was just the sort of Garibaldian adventure his romantic and courageous heart doted upon. One can picture him in the lonely night watches on the Yangtze planning to join the strange new sect of Chinese Christians of whom he had read in the States, the puritanical and hard-fighting Taipings who abjured liquor and opium, and even tobacco, and who routed the Imperialists with clockwork consistency. Their leaders were all princes. He would be one of those princes. Sometimes, when his shrewd Yankee spirit yielded to day dreams, he may have seen himself overthrowing both Taiping and Manchu em-

perors and ascending the Dragon Throne himself. Why not? He could learn Chinese and find employment with the Taipings. It all became very simple. Who could tell what Western energy might do in this land where people waited for fate to make things happen? An energetic son of America might arrange the activity of that very fate.

It is fairly certain that Ward had come to China to join the Taipings. All that he had read of them in the United States had prejudiced him in their favor, for popular opinion in the Protestant countries had for many years leaned to the rebel side. But as so often happens, Western opinion in China was very different from Western opinion at home. At first favorable to the Taipings, the tide of foreign opinion in China had turned against the rebels in the late 1850's. When Ward arrived in Shanghai practically all foreigners in the city had agreed to believe that the Taipings were blasphemers, murderers, and robbers, who ought to be exterminated. It was a little confusing at first, but Ward naturally fell in with what the people of his own race were thinking. Influenced by the weight of their opinion, he changed his mind and joined the Imperialists. His first post in the Imperial service was that of mate on the American built gunboat *Confucius*. This boat was one of a flotilla kept by the Imperialists to worry the Taipings and to suppress piracy on the Yangtze. It was commanded by an Englishman named Gough.

Ward was not greatly impressed with the results achieved by this flotilla, and while he was mate on the *Confucius* he thought out a plan for checkmating the Taiping Emperor. This plan was to recruit and drill a foreign contingent and lead it against the rebels. The

THE HEAVENLY KING

A picture of The Taiping leader circulated by Taiping propagandists in the eighteen fifties.

contingent would keep the rebels out of Shanghai. At the same time it would attack a number of Taiping strongholds within a thirty-mile zone around the city. The capture of a few towns would endanger the rebel lines, and force them to retire toward Soochow and Nanking. Ward relied upon the superiority of Western arms and tactics, on the element of surprise, and the ability of Western "devil soldiers" to create panic among the numerous but badly armed Taipings.

The enlistment of a mercenary army was not difficult in Shanghai at that time. The city was the base of operations of the French and the British in their war against Peking. This war, and the rebellion, crowded Shanghai with shipping. At one time there were three hundred foreign warships and merchantmen in the port. This fleet furnished large numbers of deserters and discharged men eager for employment in any adventure which promised high pay.

The first difficulty was to finance the force. Ward had no money, and he had no influence with the Chinese merchants and officials. However, these men knew of him as a courageous officer, and he decided to put his plan before them. Through a man named Hill, who was the representative of an American dredging machine company, Ward got an introduction to Yang Tzetang, head of the Taki bank in Shanghai. This Yang, or Taki, as he was called, was a banker of great wealth who held official position as commissioner of revenue. Taki could speak pidgin English. To him Ward outlined his plan, proposing that Taki finance the foreign contingent and pay its leader a lump sum for each city captured. The campaign was to

begin with the capture of Sungkiang, the prefectural capital of the Shanghai district.

The audacity of the proposition and the pressing need of Shanghai brought Ward's interview with Taki to a successful conclusion. Taki at once took Ward to see Wu, the Taotai, who was the authority in charge of all the military affairs in Shanghai. Wu was of the class of money mandarins which had risen under the Manchu government, an uneducated man who had acquired his literary degrees and his official preferment by purchase. He had been a merchant in Canton, dealing with the foreigners. Through this business he had become rich, and had learned pidgin English, a rare accomplishment for a mandarin.

Ward made a good impression on these Chinese worthies. They must have been impressed with the coolness of the Yankee adventurer who offered to capture cities and deliver them at a stipulated price just as other foreigners might bargain for cargoes landed on the wharves of Shanghai. In this Ward was merely another of the good race of Salem merchants. The Chinese knew the breed. He did not attempt to dazzle them with ideal fervors, but dealt with them on the realistic ground where all hardheaded men could meet. And he had a manner which made them believe that he was competent to do what he planned. He talked quietly and with conviction, and as he talked his deep black eyes held his hearers with a look of intense earnestness. Ward had an ingratiating way with the Chinese, whether they were mandarins or coolies. He never had any trouble with his Chinese employers, and he won the fanatical devotion of

his native troops. An officer of Ward's, writing in *The Friend of China* in 1862, said of him: "No foreigner ever had so complete a sway over the minds, fortunes and movements of this truly curious and antiquated nation as Frederick Ward."

Taki and Wu approved Ward's plan. They agreed to finance his contingent, to provide it with arms and munitions, and to pay Ward prize money for each Taiping stronghold he captured. The amount of this prize money has been variously estimated. Edward Forrester, Ward's lieutenant, said that Taki agreed to pay Ward $133,000 for the capture of Sungkiang. High Manchu officials said that Ward agreed to capture cities at a flat rate of $45,000. Enlisted men in Ward's force were to get $100 a month, with proportionately higher pay for officers. Each time a city was taken, Chinese provincial troops were to come in and garrison it, releasing Ward's force for further operations.

Assured of the backing of the Chinese, Ward went out among the foreign roustabouts and beachcombers and recruited two hundred men. Early in June, 1860, he established a training camp at Kwanfuling, twelve miles west of Shanghai, and engaged two American soldiers of fortune to help him put his nondescript force into something resembling military condition. One of these Americans, Edward Forrester, had seen service with Ward in South America, and had for some years been interpreter and supercargo for merchants doing business in China and Japan. On Ward's invitation he came to Shanghai. Ward's other lieutenant was a South Carolinian named Henry Andrea Burgevine. He is said to have been the son of a

French officer who had served under Napoleon. In his youth Burgevine had been a page in the House of Representatives in Washington, where he had made the acquaintance of Anson Burlingame, later American minister to China. Before joining Ward's force he had been editor of a country newspaper, postal clerk, and mate on vessels trading in China and the South Seas. Among his other accomplishments he could speak Hindustanee.

With these men as his lieutenants, and a half dozen drillmasters, mostly deserters from the British forces in Shanghai, Ward set out to whip his army into shape. After a short period of drilling, he was ready for action. In June, a little more than three weeks from the time of his meeting with Taki, Ward moved upon Sungkiang. His force carried with it no blessings. Shanghai foreigners considered the undertaking questionable. And since Ward's men were recruited among the foreign rowdies who were numerous in China at the time and who had become a terror to natives and foreigners alike, Shanghai's best wish was that they might all find graves before Sungkiang. The wish nearly came true.

The force started in the evening. Steamers conveyed it up the Huangpu River to Sungkiang. At the entrance of Sungkiang Creek, four miles below the city, the force debarked and made its way close to the walls. The attack was to begin at dawn. Ward's plan was to capture the principal gate of the city, upon which cannon had been mounted, to sweep the city with these very cannon, and drive out the Taiping garrison. Ward had no artillery with which to breach the walls. His men lay close to the main gate ready to attack. All night there was not a sign

of life on the walls, but at dawn when the scaling ladders were placed and Ward's men started up, hundreds of Taiping riflemen suddenly appeared and opened a murderous fire. Ward said afterward that his men had been drinking during the night and had made "such a hell of a noise" that the Taipings were forewarned.

Ward's rowdies fought bravely, but they could not get a foothold on the wall. The Taipings had little difficulty in beating them off. After an engagement that lasted no more than a few minutes, Ward was forced to retreat with a heavy loss in killed and wounded. The remnant of his army straggled back to Shanghai where the wounded were cared for, and the others paid off and discharged.

A fight between European and Manchu troops, after an old Chinese print.

II. THE GOD WORSHIPPERS

THE Taiping Rebellion, which Ward and his beachcombers set out to suppress on that June morning in 1860, was then in its tenth year. It began in 1850 in the province of Kwangsi, as an obscure outbreak of religious zealots. In three years' time this insignificant revolt grew to giant proportions, sweeping aside all Imperialist forces sent to suppress it. In 1853, after a stormy march of more than a thousand miles from the southwest, three times the distance of Sherman's march to the sea, the Taipings captured Nanking.

Here they established a new empire which they called *Tai-Ping Tien Kuo*—Great Peace, Heaven's Kingdom—with their leader, as *Tien-Wang*, or Heavenly King. In this ancient capital of the Mings they had held out for seven years against all Imperialist attempts to dislodge them.

The Taiping uprising was one of those vast and mysterious movements of peoples when they set out to conquer the future. History records no other civil war on the scale of the Taiping Rebellion. In fact it comes near to being the greatest war in human history before the World War of 1914-1918. It gave the Manchu dynasty a blow from which it never recovered, and left deep scars on China.

Even to-day, Nanking, the first capital of the Nationalists, shows marks of the devastation wrought in the Taiping battles of 1860-64. Whole sections of the city, then destroyed, have never been rebuilt. The casualties of the Taiping Rebellion have been estimated at twenty millions of lives. The property loss has been figured at two and a half billions. Whole provinces were laid waste. Six hundred towns and cities were practically erased from the map.

The tremendous forces of the Taiping rebellion were loosed by a religious visionary who had the power to stir into action great bodies of men. Had he succeeded his name might have gone down in history linked with those of leaders like Mahomet, or Constantine, or Brigham Young. But he failed, and his name is now barely a memory in the Yangtze Valley, which he once held in the hollow of his hand.

Who was this strange leader? Europeans called him the Coolie Emperor. The Taiping rebels called him the Heavenly King. His name was Hung Siu-tsuen, and he was a disappointed scholar. He was the son of Hung-Jang, a small farmer in a village of the Hwa district, about thirty miles northeast of Canton, near the White Cloud Mountains. Though his father was headman of the village, he was very poor, and all the members of the family lived a life of toil in the paddy fields. Hung Siu-tsuen was born in 1813. At his birth he was given the name of "Brilliant Fire" but later, according to Chinese custom, he took the literary name of Siu-tsuen, "Elegant and Perfect." At an early age he showed a marked apti-

tude for study and his family decided that he must become a scholar. His father was especially anxious to have a scholar in the family, for he traced his ancestry, rightly or not, to one Hung-Lau, a minister of state under the artist-emperor Hui-Tsung.

Hung-Lau and his emperor were taken captive when the Tatar invasion in the 12th century put an end to the Sung dynasty, which had ruled China during one of the most cultivated periods of her history, and perhaps the richest period of the world's art. Hung-Jang brooded upon stories of his ancestors and dreamed that his talented son might restore some of the ancient honor of the family. He hoped that Siu-tsuen would achieve a literary degree, the first step to preferment, and that afterward he might even become a member of the Han-lin College from which the highest officers of the state were selected. Thus luster would again be shed on the drab generations through which the family had passed since the death of Hung-Lau.

Hung Siu-tsuen's family kept him in school from his seventh to his sixteenth year. Then poverty forced Siu-tsuen to end his studies, and he went to work in the rice fields. Some months later a fellow student took him as companion and tutor and this enabled him to continue his studies for a time.

At sixteen Siu-tsuen began to take examinations for the first of the literary degrees. These examinations led through district and prefectural tests to the provincial examination in Canton. Siu-tsuen passed the district and prefectual examinations. At the provincial examinations in Canton it was a different matter. Here his road to

scholarship was obstructed by the rapacious officials of the Manchu government. This was not at all unusual. The sale of degrees, titles, and offices had become general under the later Manchu emperors. Siu-tsuen's friends maintained that he could not pass the Canton examination because he could not pay. They said that his name was first placed high in the lists and was later put much lower because he had not bribed the officials. Siu-tsuen tried several times at the Canton examination. Each time he failed.

Now, according to his followers, the hand of prophecy was laid upon him. In 1836, while on his way to the Canton examination, he met in the street a fortune teller dressed in the costume of the Mings, the dynasty which was overthrown by the Manchus. This man wore a coat with wide sleeves and had long hair tied in a knot on top of his head. He was surrounded by people who wanted to learn of their fortunes from him. Siu-tsuen, worried by his failures in the examinations, approached the man, intending to ask him if he should yet attain a literary degree. Before he could speak, the man turned to him and said:

"You will attain the highest rank. Do not be anxious about it for anxiety will make you ill. I congratulate your virtuous father."

This prophecy pleased Siu-tsuen but did not impress him very deeply at the time. Nor was he impressed when on the following day he met two Christian proselyters who gave him a set of small books of translations from the Scriptures. He took the books home with him, glanced at them and put them aside, as having no importance to him.

In 1837 Siu-tsuen made his last trial in the Canton examinations. He failed again. The path to scholarship, the one recognized path to fame and fortune in China, was closed to him. He left the examinations a sick man, and had to hire a sedan chair to take him back to his home village. During his sickness Siu-tsuen had a remarkable series of dreams and hallucinations. For days at a time he would lie in a trance-like state. Then he would get up and run about the house, leaping like a soldier in battle, shouting: "Tsan-jau! Tsan-jau! Tsan-ah! Tsan-ah! Slay the demons! Slay the demons! Slay, slay! There is one and there is another! Many, many cannot withstand one single blow of my sword!"

These actions worried Siu-tsuen's father. He believed his son mad. This misfortune he ascribed to the fault of the geomancer in selecting an unlucky plot of ground for the burial of the family ancestors. He was sure that demons possessed his son, and he hired magicians to drive them away.

The spells of the magicians had little effect on Siu-tsuen. He continued to pursue demons. "I must slay them, I must slay them!" he cried. "How can these imps dare oppose me. Many, many cannot resist me." And in his frenzy he would rush upon the demons which appeared to him now as lions and now as flocks of strange birds.

Sometimes, when he seemed better, he would sit for hours with his hands on his knees, lost in thought. His bearing was grave and dignified—he spoke little, and neither laughed nor smiled. He was immersed in the contemplation of visions which had appeared to him during his fever and which he could not explain.

In these visions Siu-tsuen first saw a great number of people bidding him welcome, and he thought the dream meant that he should die and go into the presence of Yen-lo-wang, the Chinese king of the infernal regions. He called his parents and relatives to his bedside and said to them: "My days are counted and my life will soon be over. O my parents, how badly have I returned the favor of your love to me! I shall never attain a name that may reflect its luster upon you."

After this he lost all strength and command over his body, and his relatives thought he was dying. His senses were dormant and his body seemed to be dead, but his mind was taken up with visions which he was able to remember afterwards. He saw a dragon, a tiger, and a cock enter his room. Soon after came a procession of men playing upon musical instruments. The men came up to his bedside bearing a beautiful sedan chair in which they invited him to be seated and then they carried him away.

Siu-tsuen was much astonished at the honor paid him. The procession soon arrived at a beautiful and luminous place where a multitude of distinguished men and women gathered on both sides of his chair and saluted him with expressions of joy. As he alighted from the chair an old woman took him by the hand, led him to a river and said: "Thou unclean man, why hast thou kept company with yonder people and defiled thyself? I must now wash thee clean."

She then washed him. After the washing, Siu-tsuen, in company with a number of virtuous and venerable men—among whom he could see many of the ancient sages—entered a palace where they opened his body with a knife,

took out his heart and other organs, and put in new ones, of a red color. Instantly the wound was closed and Siu-tsuen could see no trace of the incision.

On the walls of the palace Siu-tsuen noticed a number of tablets with inscriptions exhorting to virtue. These he read one by one. After this the company entered a large hall, the beauty and splendor of which were beyond anything he had ever seen. A venerable old man with a golden beard and dressed in a black robe was seated in the highest place in the hall. As soon as he saw Siu-tsuen he began to shed tears and said: "All human beings in the world are created and sustained by me. They eat my food and wear my clothing, but not a single one among them has a heart to remember and venerate me. Worse than that they take my gifts and therewith worship demons. They rebel against me and arouse my anger. Do not thou imitate them."

The Venerable Old One then gave Siu-tsuen a sword and commanded him to exterminate the demons but to spare his brothers and sisters. He also gave him a seal with which he could overcome evil spirits, and a yellow fruit which Siu-tsuen ate and found sweet to the taste.

When he had received these things Siu-tsuen began to exhort those gathered in the hall to return to their duties to the Venerable Old One. Some replied to him saying: "We have indeed forgotten our duties towards the Venerable." Others said: "Why should we venerate him? Let us only be merry and drink together with our friends."

Siu-tsuen was appalled by the hardness of their hearts and continued his exhortations with tears. The Venerable Old One said to him, "Take courage and do the work. I

will assist thee in every difficulty." And he turned to the assembly of the old and virtuous, saying: "Siu-tsuen is competent to take charge."

He then led him out of the hall, told him to look down upon the earth, and said: "Behold the people upon this earth! Hundredfold is the perverseness of their hearts." Siu-tsuen looked and saw such depravity and vice that his eyes could not endure the sight.

After this he woke from his trance. He felt the very hairs of his head rise, and he was suddenly seized with violent anger. Forgetting his weakness he left his bed, put on his clothes, and went into the presence of his father. Making a low bow he said: "The Venerable Old One above has commanded that all men shall turn to me, and all treasures shall flow to me."

Siu-tsuen continued ill for a long time after that, but the vision still held him in its spell. In his dreams he often met a man of middle age whom he called his elder brother. This man instructed him how to act, and accompanied him on his wanderings to the uttermost regions of the earth in search of evil spirits. In another dream Siu-tsuen heard the Venerable Old One reproaching Confucius for not having expounded clearly the true doctrine in his books. Confucius confessed his guilt and seemed much ashamed.

In his visions Siu-tsuen continued to exhort the people to return to their duties to the Venerable Old One. During these exhortations he would often burst into tears. "You have no hearts to venerate the old father," he would say, "but you are on good terms with impish fiends. Indeed, indeed, you have no hearts, no conscience more." Then

he would lay about him, attacking the fiends. When he feared they might overcome him he held up against them the seal given him by the Venerable Old One. At sight of it they fled.

During the period of Siu-tsuen's frenzy his brothers kept him closely confined in his room. Many people came to look at him, and he was soon known in the district as a madman. He would often say he was Emperor of China, and he was gratified when any one called him by that name. If any one called him mad he would laugh and say: "You are indeed mad yourself, and do you call me mad?" About this time Siu-tsuen dreamed that a red sun was put into his hand. One day his father found in a crack of the doorpost a slip of paper on which was written in vermilion, the imperial color, the following sentence: "The noble principles of the Heavenly King, the sovereign King Tsuen."

At the end of forty days Siu-tsuen began to regain his health. His visions, though they were never effaced from his mind, had no powerful influence on his life for several years. His manner became more serious than it had been before, but that was all. After his recovery he continued with his studies and for a number of years was engaged as schoolmaster in a village eight miles from his native place. His pupils said he was a strict disciplinarian.

Several years after his illness one of his cousins named Le visited him in the village where he was teaching. Looking among Siu-tsuen's books he came across the volumes of translations from the Scriptures which had been laid aside many years before. Le asked what sort of books they were. Siu-tsuen did not know. He knew the title: *Good*

Words for Exhorting the Age, and had noticed that they were written in a style so unliterary that no scholar would care to read them. Still, the books took Le's fancy. He read them with great interest and told Siu-tsuen that they were extraordinary, altogether different from Chinese writings.

These books contained several chapters from the Bible, a number of essays on Bible texts, short quotations, and maxims founded on the Scriptures. The author of *Good Words for Exhorting the Age,* who signed himself "Student of Virtue," was Leang-Afa, the first convert of Dr. Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China. Dr. Morrison was a representative of the London Missionary Society, who had arrived in Canton in 1807. He was closely associated with the United States from the first. Because of the unfriendliness of the British East India Company to missionaries, he sailed from New York to China in an American ship. Secretary of State Madison, later President, gave him a letter to Consul Carrington, the American representative at Canton. During his first year in China, Dr. Morrison lived in the hong of the New York firm of Milner and Bull. By 1828 he had completed his translation of the Old and New Testaments into Chinese, and had converted Leang-Afa.

Leang-Afa was a man of little education, who was employed as a type cutter in a missionary printing house at Malacca. During the year 1832 he composed and published the Christian tracts, which fell into the hands of Siu-tsuen. These tracts had been revised in manuscript by Dr. Morrison. Leang-Afa printed them at Malacca, and then took them to Canton where he, with a number of

fellow converts, distributed them. For this he was persecuted by the Canton mandarins. One of his fellow proselyters was put to death, and another was severely beaten. Leang-Afa fled for his life to Singapore, but not before he had given his tracts to Siu-tsuen. Thus did the first convert of the Protestant missionaries to China plant the seeds of Christianity in the future leader of the Taiping Rebellion.

Le's interest in Leang-Afa's books inspired Siu-tsuen to read them. To his astonishment he discovered in them an explanation of his visions. The Venerable Old One he identified as God the Father, the man of middle age who had instructed him he identified as Jesus, the people of China were the men of the world who shirked their duty to the Venerable Old One, the demons were the false gods of China and the Manchus.

"These books," reasoned Siu-tsuen, "are surely sent purposely by Heaven to me, to confirm the truth of my visions. If I had received the books without having had the visions, I should not have dared to believe in them. If I had merely been sick and had not received the books, I should have had no evidence of the truth of my visions."

Siu-tsuen had some trouble in getting at the meaning of the Christian tracts. Naturally, he interpreted them in the light of the ancient Chinese writings which he knew. They contained many foreign idioms difficult for a Chinese to understand. Whenever he saw the word *tsuen*, which means whole, all, complete, perfect, he thought it referred to his own name. He became convinced that he had received a revelation directly from God. The tracts contained the Biblical account of the conversion of St.

Paul. Siu-tsuen was not slow to believe that he had heard the living voice of that same Lord who had spoken to Paul on the road to Tarsus.

From that time on he resolved that he would oppose the customs of this world and exhort men to return to their duties to God the Father. His cousin Le made the same resolve. Learning from the books the necessity of being baptized, Siu-tsuen and Le administered the sacrament of baptism to each other according to the manner described by Leang-Afa. They prayed to God and promised not to worship evil spirits nor to pursue an evil course of conduct, but to keep the heavenly commands. They then poured water on each other's heads, saying, "Purification from all former sins, putting off the old, and regeneration." Siu-tsuen then composed the following ode:

"When our transgressions high as heaven rise,
How well to trust in Jesus' full atonement!
We follow not the demons, we obey
The holy precepts, worshipping alone
One God, and thus we cultivate our hearts.
The heavenly glories open to our view,
And every being ought to seek thereafter.
I much deplore the miseries of Hell.
O turn ye to the fruits of true repentance!
Let not your hearts be led by worldly customs."

The two cast away their idols and removed from their classrooms the Confucian tablets which hang in all Chinese schools. Siu-tsuen then returned to his native village,

preaching the new doctrine wherever he went. Most people thought him mad, but he made a few converts, especially among his own family and friends. Among the converts in his native village were two schoolmasters, Fung Yun-shan and Hung-jin. Siu-tsuen baptized them in a brook in the neighborhood, removed the Confucian tablets from their schools, and composed the following verse "to awaken their minds":

"Beside the God of Heaven there is no other God;
Why do the foolish men take falsehood to be truth?
Since their primeval heart is altogether lost,
How can they now escape defilement from the dust?"

Hung-jin wrote a reply in the Chinese manner, finishing with the same words:

"The mighty Heavenly Father, He is the one true God:
Idols are made of wood, or moulded from the clod.
We trust that Jesus came to save us who were lost,
That we may soon escape defilement from the dust!"

Removal of the Confucian tablets from the schools was a denial of the state religion. Because of it these schoolmasters soon found themselves without employment. They were poor, and influenced by the saying that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country," they resolved to travel to another province, peddling ink and brushes and preaching as they went.

In the third month of their journeying they came to the country of the independent mountain tribes of

Kwangsi, the so-called Miao-tsze. Here they fell in with another Chinese schoolmaster who taught among the Miao-tsze, converted him, and left with him tracts for the conversion of the villagers, whose language they did not know. Later Siu-tsuen became separated from his companions. Several of them returned to their homes, but one of them, Fung Yun-shan, went to a mountain village in the Kwei-Ping district of Kwangsi, where he made many converts. Fung Yun-shan was later of great importance in the Taiping ranks as the Southern King. The first Taiping organization was his work. One of the Taiping leaders said that it was Fung who "originated the project for setting up a government in opposition to the Manchus and who was the prime mover in the affair." Hung-jin in the latter days of the rebellion, became the Shield King.

On this trip into Kwangsi Siu-tsuen was already dreaming of overthrowing the Manchus, though he had no definite plan for doing it. He wrote: "Why should the Manchus forcibly enter China, and rob their brothers of their estate? . . . If God will help me recover our estate, I ought to teach all nations to hold each one its own possessions, without injuring or robbing one another. We will have intercourse in communicating true principles and wisdom to each other, and receive each other with propriety and politeness. We will serve together one common Heavenly Father, the Saviour of the World. This has been the wish of my heart since the time my soul was taken up to Heaven."

In 1846 Siu-tsuen returned to Canton. When he had been there some months he learned of the presence of an American missionary, the Reverend Issachar J. Roberts.

The Reverend Mr. Roberts was an independent worker affiliated with the Baptist Mission in China. He was a man of great religious zeal, but was somewhat erratic. He was born in Tennessee and got rather a sketchy education at the Furman Theological Institution in South Carolina. Before going to China he organized the "Roberts Fund and China Mission Society," and turned over to it his property in the hope that others would follow his example. Under this society he sailed for China in 1837. One of Roberts' assistants met Siu-tsuen and invited him to come and study the "true doctrine." Siu-tsuen accepted the invitation and for two months he studied at Mr. Roberts' mission. In June, 1847, he left the mission and started on his second journey to Kwangsi. Mr. Roberts' assistant described Siu-tsuen at this time as a man who would be considered handsome, even according to Western standards. He was five feet five in height, tall for the southern Chinese. His features were regular, his nose high, his eyes a piercing black. He was courteous and quiet in manner.

Siu-tsuen was penniless when he left the mission of the Reverend Issachar Roberts. He had rather a hard time of it on his journey to Kwangsi, but he found his friend, Fung Yun-shan, in his mountain village. Here Fung had made many converts and had formed the *Shang Ti Hui*, or Association of God-Worshippers. This little band was filled with the zeal of new converts and soon developed characteristics not unlike those of certain Pentecostal sects well known in America to-day.

"It sometimes happened that while they were kneeling in prayer one or another of them would be seized by a sudden fit, so that he fell down on the ground and his

whole body was covered with perspiration. In such a state of ecstasy, moved by the spirit, he uttered words of exhortation, reproof and prophecy. Often the words were spoken in a strange tongue, and they were delivered in rhythm. The brethren noted in a book the more remarkable of these sayings."

The most notable ecstatic among them was Yang Siu-Ching, a poor man who had joined the congregation with much earnestness. He was frequently subject to trances, in which he spoke in the name of God the Father, and in a solemn and awe-inspiring manner reproved the sins of others. He often pointed out individuals and exposed their evil actions. He exhorted to virtue, and foretold events, or commanded the God-Worshippers to do certain things. His words made a deep impression upon the Brethren. Yang was said also to have the power of curing the sick, praying to have the sickness transferred to himself. He seemed for a short time after these prayers to bear the sufferings of the patient. Another member of the congregation, one Hsiao-Chau-kwei, had trances in which he spoke in the name of Jesus. His words were milder than those of Yang.

Phenomena of a spiritualistic type were frequent. Heavenly music was heard upon the deaths of some members, and there were strange occurrences, such as the movement of curtains about the dead body, though there was no current of air in the room, and no one near. The wife of Hsiao-Chau-kwei declared that ten years before the arrival of Hung Siu-tsuen and Fung Yun-shan, in a sickness her soul ascended to heaven, and she heard an old

man say: "After ten years a man will come from the East and teach thee to worship God. Obey him willingly."

Siu-tsuen declared that some of the utterances of the brethren in their ecstasies were inspired of God and some of the Devil. He used as his standard of judgment the Biblical text: "Every spirit is of God that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh." This he had read in Leang-Afa's tracts. One of the brethren who had spoken against the "doctrine of Jesus" was driven out of the congregation.

Some students of the Taiping rebellion see in these revelations and Hung's criticism of them a struggle for supremacy between Taiping factions, one religious, the other political. It is possible that there were dissensions in those early days between those who wanted the Taiping movement to be an out and out revolt against the Manchus, and those who, like Hung Siu-tsuen, saw it first as a religious movement. Religion won over politics. The dominant note of the Taiping rebellion became the worship of the "one true God."

These early Taipings did not know just how a service to the great Christian God was to be performed. They altered their mode of service from time to time as they learned more from the missionary tracts which fell into their hands. When they met for worship they first sang a hymn in praise of God. Then an address was delivered on the mercy of God, or on the saving power of Christ. The people were told to repent of their sins, to abstain from idolatry, and to serve God with a sincere heart. When the God-Worshippers baptized a new member they proceeded as follows:

"Two burning lamps and three cups of tea were placed upon a table, and a written confession of sins, containing the names of the candidates for baptism, was read and repeated by the candidates. This confession was afterwards burnt, symbolizing its presentation to God. . . . The converts were then asked if they promised 'not to worship false gods, nor to practise evil things, but to keep the heavenly commandments?' The converts then knelt, and a cupful of water was poured over the heads of each, with the words: 'Purification from all former sins, putting off of the old, and regeneration.' Upon rising again they used to drink tea and each convert would wash the region of his heart with water, to signify an inner cleansing. It was also customary to perform private ablutions in the rivers, accompanied by confessions of sin and prayers for forgiveness. The baptized were then given various forms of prayers to be used morning and evening and before meals."

In ceremonies connected with marriages, births, birthdays, and funerals, the brethren made offerings of animals, wine, tea, and rice. These were ancient Chinese customs which were not forbidden by anything the God-Worshippers found in the missionary tracts. The God-Worshippers were commanded to pray morning and evening, to give thanks to God at every meal, and on every seventh day to worship and praise God for his mercies. When they prayed publicly, they knelt facing the side of the house whence the light entered, and one of their number spoke a prayer in the name of the whole assembly.

These prayers, and other liturgical forms of the Taipings were based on what they had read in the mis-

sionary tracts, or as much as they could understand. The Lord's Prayer gave them some difficulty. They could not understand the meaning of such expressions as "Hallowed be Thy Name," so they shortened the Prayer: "We praise the Great God our Heavenly Father, which art in Heaven. Thy will be done on earth as it is done in Heaven. Every day bestow upon us food and clothing. Forgive our frequent transgressions. Never allow us to be deceived by demons. Deliver us from the evil one. This is our heart's sincere desire."

Their doxology differed a little from the usual Protestant type, but it was correct enough:

"We praise God, our Heavenly Father,
We praise Jesus, the Holy Lord and Saviour of the world,
We praise the Holy Spirit, the Sacred Intelligence,
We praise the Three Persons, who united constitute
The one true God."

Every convert to the God-Worshippers' creed was taught the Ten Commandments. The Taipings' version of the Commandments was briefer than the Biblical text:

1. Render worship to the Supreme God.
2. Do not worship false gods.
3. Do not lightly utter God's name.
4. On the seventh day offer worship and sing praises to the kindness of the Supreme God.
5. Be filial towards parents.
6. Do not kill or injure men.

7. Do not hold illicit intercourse.
8. Do not steal or rob.
9. Do not utter falsehoods.
10. Do not covet.

These commandments with commentaries and a four-line stanza explaining each one were read every week at gatherings for public worship. Obedience to them was enjoined on pain of death.

The new religion spread rapidly. "The strange notions, unaffected earnestness, moral conduct, and new ideas about God and happiness of these men began to attract people to them, some to dispute and cavil, others to accept and worship with them." Whole villages joined the God-Worshippers and in the heat of their new faith laid about them to destroy the symbols of their former beliefs, Confucian tablets, Buddhist and Taoist images, and even temples. This destruction of temples and idols caused great excitement in the non-Christian villages. Some leading men among the literati of the district begged the God-Worshippers to desist, saying that the non-Christian Chinese believed in their images. "Let them alone," they said. "Why meddle with their beliefs?"

But the God-Worshippers would not listen to the literati. They were the most violent of inconoclasts, and broke even the images which they found in Roman Catholic chapels. This did not make them liked by the Catholic missionaries.

The fame of the God-Worshippers, for better or for worse, spread greatly after Siu-tsuen returned to Kwangsi in 1847, because of the destruction of an idol called Kan-

wang. This idol was much feared. Even to speak ill of him would bring disaster. People said that the demon of Kan-wang once possessed a boy, made him run up to the sedan chair of the district magistrate, and in the name of the idol demand a dragon robe from the mandarin. The mandarin dared not refuse, so powerful was the name of the idol.

Siu-tsuen, when he heard of this, made a journey of two days to the temple, found the idol, struck him with a stick as he enumerated his sins against the true God, then dashed the image to pieces, tore its garments, and broke all the sacrificial vessels in the temple. This deed horrified the people of the neighborhood, and they offered a reward of one hundred taels for the apprehension of the iconoclast. But Kan-wang showed a spirit of tolerance which was truly Chinese. After the destruction of the idol the demon of Kan-wang again possessed a young boy, and said: "These men are sincere. You are not to hurt them. You must only repair my image again and then everything will be all right."

The missionary, Theodore Hamberg, tells another Taiping story which sounds like a modern version of the end of Herod. Siu-tsuen had been told of the existence of a temple of great fame, called the Temple of the Six-Caverns. "This temple derived its origin," says Hamberg, "from a male and a female, who had met there together, and after a short career of immorality, were afterwards found dead. The people, saying these two had discovered the true principles, had erected a temple to their memory, where divine honors were paid their images. Siu-tsuen, finding the morals of the Kwangsi population were below

those of brutes, wrote verses reproving their utter contempt of all morality, and declaring that these demons ought to be exterminated; that the whole population had turned brutes; that on all mountains were heard profligate songs, with alternate responses of males and females; that they professed to have found true principles, when in fact they had destroyed them. Licentious females were called 'mistresses of the house'. God would not suffer such conduct, but bring upon them sudden judgment from on high. Because of these verses, the people were irritated against Siu-tsuen, and wished that the idols might display their power in killing him; but after some time the white ants came into the Temple of Six-Caverns, and destroyed the building as well as the wooden images."

These happenings brought many converts to the God-Worshippers. Most of the converts came from the class of the poor and disinherited, a fact that did not make the new religion very popular with the pillars of the community. But it was said also that "men of great influence and graduates of the First and Second Degrees, with great numbers of their clans, joined the congregation."

The Taipings dated their rebellion from the year 1850, though previous to that time they had clashed with the Imperial soldiers. Yang Siu-ching testifies to this in one of his books. He says that in the Mow Shin year (1848) "Jesus, the Saviour of the World, came down, manifesting to the world innumerable acts of power, and slaughtering a great number of impish fiends in several pitched battles; for how can impish fiends expect to resist the majesty of Heaven?" It is also known that Fung Yun-shan was arrested in 1848, and that the brethren delivered

him from jail. The Taipings said that the "Heavenly Father did come down into the world and rescue him from his enemies" in the Mow Shin year.

Still the Taipings preferred to date the beginning of their rebellion from 1850. In August of that year, a local war, not uncommon in China, broke out between the Hakkas (strangers) and the Punti people, as the natives of the province were called. The Hakkas are Chinese who migrated from the provinces of Honan and Shantung to South China in the 4th and 9th centuries of our era. There are about fifteen millions of these people in the hill country of Kwangsi, Kwangtung, Fukien, and Kiangsi. It is a commentary on Chinese conservatism that they are still looked upon as strangers in provinces where they have lived for more than a thousand years.

The war began in a dispute about a concubine. A rich Hakka had taken as his concubine a girl who had been promised in marriage to a Punti man. The Hakka had paid a large sum of money to the girl's parents, and he refused to give her up to the Punti suitor. Many other complaints against the Hakkas had been lodged with the mandarins. The officials could not settle all the disputes, and they advised the Punti to get their rights by force.

The Hakkas at first had the advantage in the war, for they were an active people and used to hardships. But the greatly superior numbers of the Punti soon told, and the Hakkas were driven from their homes. They sought refuge among the God-Worshippers, gladly submitting to any form of worship to escape from their enemies. The God-Worshippers were willing to accept these converts,

and they were all the more willing since Hung Siu-tsuen was himself of the Hakka people.

Interference in the Hakka-Punti war soon involved the God-Worshippers with the authorities. They were already in bad odor with the Mandarins. "They had been accused of propagating magical arts to seduce the people, and of forming bands and cabals to destroy altars and images in temples. These vagabonds possess heretical books, in which Jesus, a false god of the Europeans, is spoken of, and they themselves seditiously worship and honor him. . . . They falsely assert that Jesus was endowed with divine gifts. He was able to speak various languages. He commenced propagating his doctrines by exhorting men to be virtuous. Afterward he was nailed to a cross by violent men, and killed. His followers fabricated a book, very artfully devised, which they called a revelation from heaven. Everywhere, in cities and villages they erected places of worship and did homage to the cross. The teachers hold the cross in their hands or wear it on their breasts. If any disrespect is shown to it, they regard it as an offense against heaven worthy of the severest punishment."

The complaint recited that these God-Worshippers followed the licentious practices of the false religion of Jesus. According to the complaint adultery, incest, sodomy, and other vices were everyday ceremonials connected with the religion which European people practiced in their own lands, and which the Taipings were introducing in China. One Chinese writer thus described some of the practices of European Christians:

"Every seventh day they perform worship. All work is suspended. Old and young, men and women, assemble in

the place of worship. The leader of the service takes the principal seat and extols the virtues of the head of the religion, the whole crowd also muttering prayers. When the ceremony is over all give themselves up to indiscriminate sexual intercourse. This is the height of their enjoyment. They call it the 'Grand Communion' or the 'Love-Gathering.'

"Women are regarded as superior, men as inferior. All men are subject to the authority of their wives. It is a common thing for a wife to drive her husband away and seek another. They say that men are born of women. Therefore many of their kingdoms are governed by queens.

"When a person enters this religion the teacher gives him four ounces of silver and a pill. When he has taken the pill his whole mind is confused and darkened, so that he destroys his ancestral tablets, and only worships an image of a naked child which points one finger toward heaven and the other toward the earth.

"In case of funerals, the religious teachers eject all the relatives and friends from the house and the corpse is put in a coffin with closed doors. Both eyes are secretly taken out and the orifice sealed up with a plaster. This they call 'sealing the eyes for the western journey' . . . The reason for extracting the eyes is this: From one hundred pounds of Chinese lead can be extracted eight pounds of silver, and the remaining ninety-two pounds of lead can be sold at the original cost. But the only way to obtain this silver is by compounding the lead with the eyes of Chinese. The eyes of foreigners are of no use for this purpose. Hence they do not take out those of their own people but only of the Chinese.

"It is impossible," said the accusers of the God-Worshippers, "to enumerate all the vile practices of the false religion of the West. If we seek for the general motive which leads to them it is a fixed determination utterly to befool our people, and under false pretense of religion to exterminate them. What infatuation to embrace such a religion as this!"

And this was the religion which the God-Worshippers had learned from the Western missionaries and were trying to thrust upon the Chinese! The complaints of the literati, and the enmity of the Punti people forced the mandarins to take action against Hung Siu-tsuen and his followers.

The God-Worshippers were listed among the proscribed secret societies, which the Chinese officials feared. The officials believed that periods in which these societies were active precede dynastic changes. Secret societies have had a hand in the overthrow of many Chinese dynasties, from the "Red Eyebrows" who took part in the overthrow of the early Han dynasty; the "Yellow Turbans" of whom the war-god Kwan was a member, and who helped overthrow second Han; the "White Lotus" which contributed to the fall of the Yuan and Ming dynasties, and which stirred up fierce rebellions against the Manchu emperors, Ch'ien Lung, and his son, Chia-Ching; down to the "Triads" who were active in the 1850's.

South China has been a fertile field for societies plotting against foreign usurpers. South China opposed the Mongol Khans in the days when Jenghis was sweeping over the world. It fiercely resisted the Manchus when the Ming dynasty fell, and was never reconciled to them. The

South Chinese had a saying which showed their attitude towards the Ch'ing, or Manchu dynasty: "Living we do not submit to the Ch'ing: Dead we do not submit to the Ch'ing." This saying was illustrated in the custom of clothing Chinese babies in the garments of the Ming dynasty and of laying out the dead in Ming costume.

The God-Worshippers were accused of forming a treasonable society, treasonable not only in that it was considered secret, but also in that its members worshipped God, a worship which in Imperial China was reserved for the Emperor alone. They were accused of subverting established religion and morality, of annoying others at worship and breaking their idols, and of fostering rebellion against law and order. Further, it was known that all recruits to their ranks cut off the queue and abandoned the Manchu tunic in favor of the robe worn by their ancestors in the time of the Mings. This was casting off the badges of Manchu superiority, and was considered very dangerous by the authorities. From the autumn of 1850 active measures were taken to break up the Society of God-Worshippers.

The headdress of Taiping (*left*) and Imperialist (*right*) from a contemporary print.

III. RELIGION AND REBELLION

SIU-TSUEN, so his followers said, had seen that conflict with the Imperial government must come sooner or later. In the summer of 1850 he had sent messages ordering all the God-Worshipper congregations to come together and unite for the common defense. They began to convert their property of fields and houses into money, and to deliver the proceeds into the general treasury. In this treasury all shared alike, every one receiving his food and clothing from the fund.

Active persecution only served to spread more rapidly the rebellious heresy of the God-Worshippers. Their numbers increased. Beginning in the autumn of 1850 the mandarins made several attempts to bring the God-Worshippers to terms. They made little headway. Kwangsi is a difficult province in which to move troops. "It is the wild country of China, beloved of Chinese landscape painters, who have pictured it as a land of strange mountains which appear fashioned to suit the caprices of the human imagination, the rocks bearing a resemblance to gigantic animals, the rivers falling into abysses and crossed by seemingly impassable bridges."

In these wild mountains the Taiping rebellion grew and prospered. Many of the first Taiping converts were of

the mountain tribes of Kwangsi, whom the Chinese call Miao-tze. The Imperialist soldiers feared to meet these men. Chinese legend had taught them that the Miao-tze were wolf-men, that they had tails, and that when a Miao-tze child was born its feet were cauterized to harden them and make them insensible to fatigue. These Miao-tze tribes of Kwangsi, whom ethnologists suppose to be of the Caucasian race, had never completely submitted to Manchu rule. They wore the ancient Chinese national dress and had long hair. They were dangerous fighters, especially in their native mountain country. The Imperialists were not anxious to challenge them.

Nevertheless it was necessary to make some move against the rebels. Attempts were made to apprehend Siu-tsuen and the other leaders of the movement by stealth. At one time Hung and Fung were penned in by Imperialist soldiers but were rescued by their followers. In the end the authorities found it necessary to send a large force against the God-Worshippers with orders to scatter them and bring in the leaders dead or alive.

In answer to this the God-Worshippers drew up a declaration of independence. This declaration set forth their right to worship as they saw fit, their opposition to idols, and their belief in the One True God. "The declaration was drawn up on a large sheet of paper, measuring six by four feet, made up of smaller pieces. Hung Siu-tsuen, with the other leaders and all their adherents ascended a very high hill, and spread the document upon the ground, placing a stone on each of the four corners and another in the center. While the whole body knelt around this declaration, Hung Siu-tsuen stood, and raising his

hands, appealed to Heaven to defend them in the right to worship God as set forth in that declaration. Having finished his appeal, the whole body marched past him as he stood, and clasped swords pledging their lives to defend him and their right to worship as set forth in the declaration. By this time the pursuing force appeared in the distance, on the plain below, when suddenly a cloud enveloping the mountain top, concealed the God-Worshippers from their enemies. Descending by the other side of the hill they came in collision with their pursuers, and wonderful to relate, every one of their foes was slain."

Hostilities had begun. A bold course became imperative. Another strong body of soldiers was known to be on the march against the God-Worshippers, and Siu-tsuen prepared to receive them. Abandoning the village which had been the headquarters of the God-Worshippers early in June, 1850, he took possession of Lienchu, the market town of the district, which was close at hand. This small city was encircled by a broad river, protecting it from sudden attack. The God-Worshippers fortified it so strongly that when the soldiers arrived it was well nigh impregnable. From this place Siu-tsuen sent messengers into Kwangtung, calling upon the remaining relatives of the two clans, Hung and Fung, to join him in Kwangsi. Before they could do this, Siu-tsuen, from want of provisions was forced to move his camp. This he effected very cleverly. "To deceive the Imperialists as to his real intentions, he placed a number of women and boys belonging to the town in a house near the river, and in the direction of the besiegers' camp, ordering them to beat the drums throughout the following day, while he, with his entire

force, evacuated the place at night without giving the foe the least suspicion of his movements."

Siu-tsuen took up his new position in a large village named Taitsun, in August, 1850. Here he gained many recruits, and found large stores of provisions. While the God-Worshippers were encamped at this place eight rebel chiefs belonging to the Triad Society made known their wish to join the Taiping movement with their respective bands.

The Triad Society, or "Heaven and Earth Association" claims a high antiquity but probably it was formed in the 17th century with the purpose of overthrowing the Manchu dynasty. It was said to have been organized by Buddhist priests who had been badly treated by the Emperor K'ang Hsi. There was a great deal of religious mummery in the organization, a mixture of Buddhism, Taoism, and various ancient Chinese creeds. The Triads' "Words of Exhortation" even contain a variant of the Christian doctrine of turning the other cheek: "If people insult you, injure you, revile you,—how ought you to take it? You ought to bear it, suffer it, endure it, and forgive it." The Triads appeared as insurgents against the Manchus in the 18th century, and in the 19th they took part in several rebellions.

At the same time that the Triads joined Hung Siu-tsuen and his followers, two female rebel chiefs, each one bringing about 2,000 followers, joined the army of God-Worshippers, and were received on submitting to the rules of the congregation. Siu-tsuen placed these two female chiefs with their followers at a distance from the main body of his army, making them serve as outposts.

The Triads were accepted as members of the God-Worshippers on the same terms as the female chiefs, on condition that they conform to the worship of the "true God." The eight Triad chiefs declared themselves willing, and sent tributes of oxen, pigs, and rice.

"Siu-tsuen now dispatched sixteen of the brethren belonging to the congregation, two to each chief, in order to impart to them and their followers some knowledge of the true religion before they had taken the definitive step of joining him. When the preparatory instructions had been received, the chiefs dismissed their tutors with a sum of money as a reward for their trouble, and soon after, they, with all their followers, joined the army of Hung Siu-tsuen.

"Fifteen of the teachers who had been sent out to the chiefs, now, in accordance with the laws of the congregation, gave the money they had received into the common treasury. But one of them kept the money for himself without saying a word. This man had several times before, by his misconduct, made himself liable to punishment, and had been spared only in consideration of the eloquence of his preaching. He had, in the first place, not fully abstained from the use of opium, but to procure the drug he sold some rattan bucklers belonging to the army. Another time, being excited with wine, he had injured some of the brethren. As soon as his concealment of the money was proved, Hung Siu-tsuen, and the man's relatives, who were present in the army, desired to have him punished according to the full rigor of the law, and ordered him to be decapitated as a warning to all."

It was the old story of Ananias, but Siu-tsuen's method

of dealing with him was not convincing. At any rate he failed to impress the Triad chief, for, "When the chiefs of the Triad Society saw that one of those who had just been sent as a teacher to them, was now killed for a relatively small offense, they felt very uncomfortable, and said: 'Your laws seem rather too strict; we shall perhaps find it difficult to keep them, and upon any small transgression you would perhaps kill us also.' Thereupon seven chiefs with their men departed and afterwards surrendered to the Imperialists, turning their arms against the insurgents. Hung Siu-tsuen afterwards ordered his followers not to receive among their number any Triad men but such as were willing to abandon their former practises and to receive instruction in the true doctrine."

The God-Worshippers spent the last months of 1850 in the southwestern part of Kwangsi. They captured a number of towns, and beat off the troops sent against them. Their tactics were simple and thoroughly Chinese. When they met the Imperialists they would feign flight, drawing the enemy into ambuscades where they beat them without much trouble. The Viceroy of Kwangsi and Kwantung, Siu Kwang-tsin, now saw that he had a first-class rebellion on his hands, and he set out for Pekin to spread the alarm. The Emperor, on the first of November, 1850, sent Commissioner Lin Tse-hsu, of Opium War fame, to Kwangsi with orders to wipe out the rebels. Siu-tsuen answered this act of the Emperor with a proclamation:

"The Manchus, who for two centuries have been the hereditary occupants of the throne of China, were originally members of a small foreign tribe. With the aid of

a powerful army they took possession of our treasure, our lands, and the government of our country, proving that superior strength is all that is required for the usurpation of an empire. There is, therefore, no difference between us, who levy contributions on the villages we have taken, and the officials sent from Pekin to collect the taxes. Taking and keeping are both fair alike. Why then, without any motive, are troops marched against us? This appears to us very unjust. How have the Manchus, who are foreigners, a right to collect the revenues of eighteen provinces, and to appoint the officers who oppress the people: while we, who are Chinese, are forbidden to take a little money from the public stock? Universal sovereignty does not belong to any individual to the exclusion of all the rest, and no one ever saw a dynasty which could count a hundred generations of Emperors. Possession—and possession only—gives a right to govern."

This proclamation of Hung Siu-tsuen was the first political act of the rebels. Before this the uprising had been religious. It now took on the political character which was to distinguish it for the rest of its career.

Old Commissioner Lin never reached his post in Kwangsi. He died on the way. The Emperor then appointed Li Sing-yuen as Imperial Commissioner to suppress the uprising, and ordered the Manchu general, Wulantai, directly to the scene of action. Li Sing-yuen died in 1851, and Saishanga, a Manchu, and a former prime minister of the empire, was sent as Imperial Commissioner to Kwangsi. He was given full power to proceed against the rebels and he carried with him a war chest of 2,000,000 taels of silver.

The rebels gained in numbers and in wealth during the spring and summer of 1851. On Sept. 25th, 1851, Hung Siu-tsuen captured the district city of Yungan, in the eastern part of the province of Kwangsi. He found much wealth in the public treasury and granaries.

Shortly after the capture of Yungan the God-Worshippers set up a new empire with Siu-tsuen at its head. He took the title of *Tien-Wang*,—Heavenly King. He would not take the title of emperor because he considered it sacrilege to use the name, *Shangti*, which implied deity. However, his followers looked upon him as emperor, and greeted him with the imperial salutation, *Wan Sui*—Immortal. The new emperor named his dynasty *Tai Ping Tien Kuo*—the Great Peace Dynasty of the Heavenly Kingdom. From that time the rebels were known as the Taipings, though Chinese writers most frequently referred to them as *Changmao*,—long haired. Siu-tsuen appointed five kings to serve under him. His comrade, Fung Yun-shan, was made *Nan-wang*, Southern King; Yang Siu-ching, who conversed with God in his trances, was made *Tung-Wang*, Eastern King; Hsiao Chao-kwei, who spoke in the name of Jesus, was made *Sz-Wang*, Western King; Wei Chang-hui was made *Pe-Wang*, Northern King; and Shi Ta-kai was made *I-Wang*, or Assistant King. These last two were well-educated Kwangsi men of good family. Shi Ta-kai was a very able military leader who had been an early convert to the Taiping faith.

Most writers on the Taiping rebellion assume that Hung Siu-tsuen was proclaimed emperor late in 1851, or early in 1852. A few date the new empire much earlier, that is, from the Chinese New Year (Feb. 1) 1851. This

earlier date is given on the authority of Hung-Jin, one of Siu-tsuen's first converts. But since Hung-Jin was not with the rebels until several years after the capture of Nanking the later date is probably correct.

After the proclamation of the new empire the rebel movement grew tremendously. Hung Siu-tsuen moved forward with his cohorts like a conquering hero of an ancient legend. A Chinese observer of the march says that "the cortège of the new emperor recalled to my mind the scenes which are represented in our theatres, and those pieces in which we see the heroes of ancient times before we submitted to the Tatar yoke. The persons who surrounded the emperor had cut off the tail, and allowed their hair to grow, while instead of the Chang, buttoned at the side, they wore tunics open in front. The emperor was in a magnificent palanquin, enclosed by curtains of yellow satin, and carried by sixteen officers. After his palanquin came that of his tutor, placed on the shoulders of eight coolies. Then came his thirty wives in painted and gilded chairs. A multitude of servants and coolies followed in perfect order."

At Yungan Siu-tsuen proclaimed that: "The fortune of the dynasty of Han is about to flourish once more, and the foreign dynasty of the Manchus approaches its termination. This is a decree of Heaven of which there can be no doubt. . . . When our princes by the power of Heaven, entered Yungan, they extended their munificence around them, and looking upon the people as their own children, induced them to abstain from murder, and to take nothing without permission. They are just and impartial as a balance, but if any one refuses obedience, he will

be handed over to the officers of the army. Our princes call upon the inhabitants of every district to surrender, if they would merit the reward due to voluntary adhesion. In the meanwhile they are now awaiting the arrival of the chiefs of the other provinces, that they may join their forces and attack the capital of Peking. . . ."

The proclamation proved that it was Siu-tsuen's purpose early in his career as a rebel chief to march upon Peking. This explains the fact that he did not consolidate his gains as he moved forward, but set his course for the capital of the empire, knowing that with Peking in his hands everything else would follow.

After the foundation of the *Great Peace Dynasty*, Siu-tsuen, as befitted an emperor, set out to organize his kingdom, his army, and his religion. He was a stern disciplinarian. There was something of the Puritan in his make-up. His laws, with their theocratic tone, strongly resemble the "Body of Liberties" of the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, and they were as astonishing and objectionable to the Imperialists and the foreign traders in the treaty ports, as the New England laws were to Charles II.

In the years 1851 and 1852 Siu-tsuen, who was now called the Heavenly King, and the Kings under him, issued proclamations in vast number and published several religious books. Most of these writings were as dull as the missionary tracts upon which they were modeled. Siu-tsuen's were the best of the lot. Here his literary education stood him in good stead. T. T. Meadows, the best informed of the British observers of the rebellion, says that Siu-tsuen's writings showed him to be "a man well

versed in the extensive literature of his country, the more philosophical portion of it included. And his style has the clearness and simplicity which an earnest man, more anxious to plant conviction in the minds of his readers, than to excite admiration for himself, is sure to adopt if really an able writer." Except for the writings of Siu-tsuen, the Taiping productions, from the point of view of the Chinese literati, were vulgar, and offended against good taste and philological propriety.

In *The Book of Religious Precepts* (1852) the Heavenly King explained that to worship the great God is not to imitate foreigners, as some suppose, for, he said, from the time of the Opener of Heaven and Earth, down to the period of the Three Dynasties, both princes and people honored and worshipped the great God. The various foreign nations had, he said, continued to practice this duty up to the present time, while the Chinese practiced it only up to the Chin and Han dynasties.

Fanatical devotion and courage were inspired in the Taipings by the *Book of Celestial Decrees and Declarations of the Divine Will,* (1852) in which it is reported that both the Heavenly Father and Jesus reproved the people for lack of public spirit, for keeping treasure for themselves, and for faltering in battle. This book gave divine sanction for the killing of enemies, commanded the Taipings never to retreat in battle, ordered them to care for the sick and helpless, and to preserve their sisters and brothers from harm. Severe penalties were meted out to those who broke the commandment against adultery.

In the *Book of Declarations of the Divine Will, Made During the Heavenly Father's Descent upon Earth,* God

is supposed to have come down to earth to confound two or three Taiping traitors. This book was written by the Eastern King, Yang Siu-ching. He arranged the descent adroitly at a small crisis, for he was a shrewd impresario of miracles.

A Taiping production said to have been written by Siu-tsuen, and which was highly praised by the missionaries is the *Ode for Youth*. "This," says the Reverend Dr. Medhurst, who with Gutzlaff translated the Bible into Chinese, "is altogether a good publication. It lays the foundation of morality in religion, first inculcating the fear of God, and belief on the Saviour, and then passing on to the inculcation of human obligations. The views expressed of God are correct, and the reverence due him grounded on his creative power and preserving goodness. All nations are required to serve God, without exception. . . . The paragraph in the ode on reverence for Jesus is truly evangelical. It contains the very germ of the Gospel. The death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus are most distinctly set forth; and our trust is to be wholly in him, whereby we secure celestial glory. If the chief of the insurrection imprints these truths on the minds of the youth subject to his sway, we may anticipate that, as far as his influence extends, the way of salvation will be clearly shown, and no soul need be lost for want of knowing what he must do to be saved."

Medhurst praises several other productions of the Taipings. He finds in *An Essay on the Origin of Virtue for the Awakening of the Age*, "Many truths, liberal in their principles and new to the Chinese. . . . That God is the universal father, that China and foreign nations are

all equally under his rule, and that all men are brethren." The *Essay* is part of the *Imperial Declaration of Taiping*, which was the work of Siu-tsuen himself. This book, with those listed above, and the *Trimetrical Classic*, a poem containing the gist of Taiping cosmogony and religion, were the chief publications of the Taiping rebels before they captured Nanking.

Many things in the Taiping religious books seemed grotesque to European theologians. The Heavenly King in an account, given in the *Trimetrical Classic*, of a journey his soul made to Heaven, describes the wives of God and Jesus.

> "He returned to Heaven
> Where the great God
> Gave him great authority.
> The Celestial Mother was kind,
> And exceedingly gracious,
> Beautiful and noble in the extreme,
> Far beyond all compare.
>
> The celestial elder brother's wife
> Was virtuous, and very considerate,
> Constantly exhorting the Elder brother
> To do things deliberately."

In these descriptions Siu-tsuen, who was not familiar with the method of allegorical interpretation, was misled by Biblical allusions to Jesus Christ as "The Bridegroom," to the "Bride of Christ" and by missionary allusions to the "Mother of God." On the other hand the *Trimetrical*

Classic gives a good paraphrase of the Bible scheme of salvation:

"But the great God
Out of pity to mankind,
Sent his first-born son
To come down into the world.

"His name is Jesus
The Lord and Saviour of Men,
Who redeems them from sin
By endurance of extreme misery.

"Those who believe will be saved
And ascend up to heaven;
But those who do not believe
Will be the first to be condemned."

The Taipings conceived that God conversed with them after the Old Testament manner, through the mouths of inspired men like Yang and Hsiao. The Heavenly King continually exhorted his people like an ancient Hebrew prophet, holding before them the things that God had revealed to him. The revelations are commonplace, and such as might be had after the reading of missionary tracts. They are not unlike some of the revelations from the spirit world which have become so familiar in recent years.

The chief Taiping teachings seem to have been belief in God and in his scheme of salvation as taught in the New Testament, and the practice of virtue by obeying His Commandments. After man's duties to God the chief

virtues are filial piety and right sex relations, while flouting of parents, lewdness, killing or hurting people, infanticide, stealing, opium-smoking, prostitution, drunkenness, gambling, witchcraft, and fortune-telling are listed as the chief vices. Slavery was abolished, and footbinding was forbidden.

The Taiping leaders took their religion seriously. Every new rebel recruit was ordered to memorize the Ten Commandments within three weeks on pain of death. "The training of the people in the doctrines of their religion was a matter of great care on the part of the higher officials," says William James Hail. "The attendance on Sabbath worship was compulsory: indeed for the officials of all grades more than compulsory. For they were apparently regarded as the leaders, possibly the teachers or priests of the movement. In every hamlet or district of twenty-five families one of the officers was responsible for conducting the religious services, and at least once a month a great assembly was called together from twenty-five of these parishes to hear some prince or high officer preach. No official could be absent from these great gatherings without ample excuse. For the first offence he was pilloried for seven weeks and beaten with a thousand blows; for the second he was put to death."

For all this Puritanical zeal, war as well as religion occupied the Taiping leaders. Hung Siu-tsuen and Fung Yun-shan devoted themselves to studying the ancient Chinese systems of military organization and strategy. They organized their army according to a plan resembling the military system of the Chow Dynasty (1122-255 B.C.). The five kings under Siu-tsuen appear to have been men

of unusual ability as military leaders. Some time after the capture of Yungan the governor of Kwangsi wrote:

"Both Hung Siu-tsuen and Fung Yun-shan are skilled in the use of troops. Hung Siu-tsuen is a man of dangerous character, who practices the ancient military arts. At first he conceals his strength, then he puts it forth a little, then in a greater degree, and lastly comes on in great force. He constantly has two victories for one defeat, for he practices the tactics of Sun-pin, [a celebrated Chinese tactician of the fourth century B.C.]. The other day I obtained a rebel book describing the organization of their army. It is the Sze-Ma system of the Chow dynasty. The rebels increase more and more. Our troops, the more they fight, the more they fear. The rebels are generally powerful and fierce, and they cannot by any means be likened to a disorderly crowd, their regulations and laws being rigorous and clear."

At Yungan the military organization of the Taipings was placed on a firm footing. The army was organized in squads of 25, companies of 100, battalions of 500, regiments or divisions of 2,500, and armies of 12,500. The names of the army, division, and company were inscribed on the flags of the commanders. The size of these flags varied according to the rank of the officer. The lower officers, corresponding to our sergeants and corporals, and the privates, were distinguished by a piece of cloth worn across the chest. The squad, company, and division to which these men belonged were marked on this square of cloth. On it was also marked the distinguishing name of each man. The non-commissioned officers were distinguished as "firm," "daring," "martial," and so on. The privates were

called "rush on the enemy," "beat the foe," "report victory," and other optimistic names. Musketeers and cavalrymen were selected from among the bravest soldiers. Halberdiers and gingall men came next. (The gingall is a sort of hand-cannon, a heavy musket fired from a rest and sometimes mounted on a swivel.) Spearmen were chosen from the poorest military material. Yet these despised spearmen were invariably placed in the front rank in battle. The halberdiers formed the second line. Musketeers and cavalry were held in reserve.

Attached to the Taiping armies were special corps, answering to the engineering and administrative corps of Western armies. The rebel military scheme in its best days included several armies of infantry, with cavalry, naval forces, engineers, metal workers, wood workers, and other skilled troops.

According to an English writer in the *North-China Herald* there were nine grades of officers between the commanders of armies and the Wangs, or Kings. The titles used in the army were those of the ancient Chinese. The uniforms, too, were like those of ancient China. The Kings wore yellow hoods shaped like helmets, yellow jackets and long yellow gowns. The officers next in rank wore red hoods with a yellow border, yellow jackets, and long red gowns. The third in rank wore only the distinguishing hood and jacket over ordinary dress, and those still lower wore only the jacket. This observer noted little uniformity of dress among the privates, nor did he find the Taipings familiar with Western ideas of military formations. The army seemed to be well supplied with cannon, but not with muskets. The chief arms noticed were

spears and swords. The spears were bamboo poles, from eight to eighteen feet in length, with spikes in the end. Some of the northern recruits were armed with the Tatar bow. The Taipings were deficient in fire-arms to the end of the rebellion.

The strictest discipline was maintained in the rebel army. Obedience to orders and signals was rigidly enforced. On the march each soldier had to carry his accouterments, provisions, and cooking utensils. Smoking of opium and tobacco, drunkenness, theft, and maltreatment of women were punishable with death. Among the rules to be observed on a march, we find: "Let no officers or soldiers, male or female, come into the villages to cook rice, or steal food; let not any injure the dwellings of the people, nor steal their property; neither let them ransack the apothecaries or other shops, nor the public offices in the different prefectures and districts. Let not any set fire to the dwellings of the people, or commit nuisances in the roads or private houses."

There are frequent references in Taiping writings, as in this quotation, to female soldiers. During the rebel march to Nanking there seem to have been several battalions of women who "were wont to fight bravely, and who could ably discharge the duties of officers." The women warriors were rigidly segregated from the male camps and joined with the men only in battle and in religious services. After the capture of Nanking the female battalions were disbanded.

Ahead of the Taiping troops went a body of propagandists, who circulated tracts exhorting the people to worship the one true God and to adhere to the cause of

the Heavenly King. In this campaign of propaganda they followed a custom which has never been neglected by Chinese armies, not even by the Nationalist army of to-day. The Taipings believed firmly in the Bible translations and missionary tracts which had converted them. Often, as at Nanking, they would send boatloads of their religious literature to float down the river to the Imperialists, believing that the revelations of the true God could not fail to impress them.

The Taiping propaganda methods seem to have been successful. In Yungan their numbers were estimated at 30,000 men, women, and children. Their army numbered 5,000 men, just two divisions. After they left Yungan and went down the Hsiang river, and later the Yangtse, they were joined by many thousands of converts. When their armada appeared before Nanking they had at least five armies of 12,500 men each. Their total number at that time was estimated at one million souls.

The rebels occupied Yungan for seven months. During the greater part of this time they were closely besieged by Imperialist armies under Saishanga, and the generals Wulantai, Liu Chang-ching, and Hsiang Yang. The Imperialists completely encircled the town, and were said to have had an army of 30,000 men, but they could not overcome the 5,000 Taiping warriors. Wulantai complained bitterly that his troops were useless, that the rebels had seen the impotence of the army during the war with the English barbarians, (the Opium War 1839-42). "Formerly," he said, "they feared the troops as tigers; of late they look upon them as sheep."

On April 6th, 1852, the rebels broke through the Impe-

rialist cordon at Yungan. They lost more than 2,000 men in the action, but made good their escape and marched toward Kweilin, the capital of Kwangsi province, taking a number of towns on the way. Heavy rains and the disorganization of the Imperial army kept them free from any dangerous pursuit. Wulantai, who followed them with a small force, was mortally wounded in an action with the rebel rearguard, and his disheartened troops withdrew. For this failure at Yungan, Saishanga, the Imperial commissioner, was cashiered. General Hsiang Yang was appointed to succeed him.

The early movements of the Taipings, says the English writer, T. T. Meadows, were "typical of the military proceedings and strategy of the whole subsequent war. The Taipings take up a position and display a great deal of industrial energy in fortifying it, and no little amount of constructive ingenuity in availing themselves of natural facilities, the material at hand, etc., towards effecting that object. As they succeeded in effecting it, the Imperial forces begin to approach. At first these latter station themselves in intrenched camps of observation, at such distances as render their presence no very serious inconvenience to the Taipings. As their numbers increase with the concentration of troops from various quarters, they gradually hem in the Taipings, with more or less resistance on the part of the latter, until an effectual blockade is established. Assaults and storms on the part of the Imperialists are occasionally attempted, but they always fail; and are productive of so much loss that they give up the idea of conquering in that way, and confine their efforts to cutting off all channels of supply. In this they are eventually

successful; and the Taipings, straitened by want of provisions, are compelled to break out. They cut their way through their enemies, inflicting far greater damage on the latter than they themselves incur, and move on to another position. Such of the Imperialists as dog them too closely on the way meet with some severe check from the Taipings but the great body of the Imperialists usually spend some time in plundering the original inhabitants of the place of everything the Taipings did not take with them, and in slaughtering these unfortunate neutrals as 'rebels.' In the reports of the Imperialist leaders to the Emperor, as published in the Peking Gazettes, the breaking out of the Taipings is called an 'escape' and the move to another position a 'flight!' But every one of these 'escapes' has been from a position of lesser importance to one of greater; and every one of these 'flights' has been from a spot more remote from the Imperial Capital, Pekin, to a spot less remote from it . . . the first fortified positions of the Taipings were villages or country towns; afterwards they were district cities; then departmental cities . . . and at length, they took up, and have ever since held [written before 1860] the most important military position in the Empire; its former capital Nankíng, and the 'King kow' the port of the capital, the city of Chin Kiang, which commands at once the Great River and the Grand Canal. There the military tactics of the Taipings assumed a second phase. The first phase of their military career—what may be called the *concentrated and locomotive phase,* inasmuch as during it their whole force formed but one army, and kept moving from place to

place—this first phase occupied two years and a half; from October, 1850, until March, 1853."

Observers of the Taiping rebellion gave a number of reasons for its early success. First of these was the weakening of the Manchu régime. The Manchu rule had been strong to the end of the reign of Ch'ien Lung, but when his son Chia Ch'ing ascended the Dragon Throne in 1796, it began to decline. The government became corrupt and oppressive. Political discontent spread over the empire. The sale of offices and titles put wealthy incompetents in civil and military offices. The currency was debased in value. The Imperial armed forces in the provinces were honeycombed with graft, and the army was mostly on paper. Officers reported the numbers and not the names of the soldiers on their lists, thus it was impossible to check them, and pay was drawn for soldiers who had no existence. Drill was neglected. Many of the soldiers did not even know how to use the sword or bow, not to speak of firearms.

European missionaries in the 1840's and 50's reported that the Manchu régime "groaned under its own weight." It was a bad time in South China. Crop failures in Kwangsi and Hunan increased the distress of the people and led to the rise of many robber bands. The Opium War, in which a few barbarian soldiers had easily beaten the dreaded Manchus, had shown the Chinese that their Tatar oppressors were not invincible. The Chinese people believed that all these things presaged the doom of the Manchus, for history had taught them that such periods of disorganization invariably precede the fall of dynasties. This belief was strengthened by the fact that in the period between

1820 and 1835 there had been fifteen uprisings against the Manchus. During the Taiping uprising itself there were several minor rebellions along the southern and eastern coastal regions, as well as the great Mohammedan rebellion in the northwest.

The Imperial government may be said to have armed these rebels against itself. The sale and carrying of arms had long been prohibited to the common people of China. During the Opium War the government stirred up secret societies and patriotic clubs against the foreigners, supplying these volunteer braves with swords and firearms. When the disastrous results of the Opium War upon China proved to the people that the mandate of heaven had been withdrawn from their Manchu rulers, the people turned these arms against the government.

The policy of the Imperial government in the provinces also helped the Taipings. This policy was to divide and limit the power of provincial governors, and so insure Imperial supremacy. The provincial troops were kept just strong enough to deal with riots, bandit raids, and similar minor disturbances. The throne always feared that strong provincial armies might become formidable rebels against the central authority. This fear was amply justified several times in Chinese history. The weakness of the provincial armies was a great handicap to the Imperial cause in the early stages of the Taiping rebellion. When adequate forces to cope with the Taipings had been got together, the prestige of the rebels, based on their defeats of provincial troops, was so great that the Emperor's soldiers feared to engage them on equal terms. Also when one province had organized to expel the Taipings they

had advanced into another, where the process was repeated.

Late in April, 1852, the rebels laid siege to Kweilin, the seat of the provincial government of Kwangsi. Heretofore, whenever they had appeared, the population had fled in terror from these warriors who carried with them such magic that they vanquished even the gods, and who fought under a miraculous banner that gave them victory everywhere. This banner was said to have been preserved by a sage who lived under the last Ming Emperor. He had given it supernatural powers and had prophesied that the leader who unfurled it before his army would ascend the Dragon Throne. But at Kweilin the rebels found magic as powerful as their own. They had to raise the siege at the end of a month. In a memorial to the throne the provincial governor of Kwangsi thanked the war-god, Kwan-ti, a deified warrior of old times, for coming to the rescue of Kweilin. He said:

"Since this dynasty has governed the Empire, the majestic energy of the god Kwan has been displayed in a very remarkable manner, and the emperors have successively decreed to him honors, erected temples and offered sacrifices. Lately when the city of Kweilin was attacked by the rebels, I respectfully visited his temple at critical moments, burned incense before him and entreated him to save the lives of the people. Now it happened that within a week after a prayer of this kind, twenty-five pieces of cannon, cast by the Mings, were found behind the pagoda. The cannon proved of great

strength and aided us much; for the greater number of the rebels left on the field were slain by them.

"On different occasions we learned, through spies sent by the rebels and also through our prisoners, that whenever the rebels pressed too close upon the city, they saw a red light shining above it, and a horseman who incessantly brandished his sword. The horse was gigantic; the guards who surrounded the mysterious personage were far above the ordinary stature, so that the sight of them alone was sufficient to terrify the rebels and make them yield.

"On the thirteenth of the third moon, when the night was dark and rainy, at the fourth watch, the rebels sent upwards of fifty junks behind the rock called 'Elephant Snout' hoping that the obscurity of the night and the noise of the rain would conceal their approach, and that they would thus be able to effect a landing. It happened, however, that their progress was stopped by a violent wind from the north, and a horseman armed with a brilliant cuirass appeared on the surface of the waters, encouraging the Imperial troops to advance and repel the rebels. At the same moment, amid the darkness of the night, suddenly appeared an enormous shining lantern, inscribed with the words, 'Great Happiness'.

"I now reflect that when the rebels were beaten before the town, our soldiers were all near the embrasures of the wall; the horseman who appeared to the rebels brandishing his sword amid a red light, could not be any other than the god Kwan, who thus visibly came to our aid. When, again, our troops repulsed the rebels and destroyed their vessels, it could not have been one of them who gal-

loped on water as on land. Indeed the words which appeared on the lantern in the air allow of no doubt that this was the spirit of the god of 'Great Happiness'."

What really saved Kweilin was the energy of the new Imperial commissioner, Hsiang Yang, who had succeeded in getting reënforcements into the beleaguered city, and the fact that the Taipings had no cannon. The rebels used every device known to Chinese military science in their attacks on Kweilin. When their scaling ladders proved unsuccessful they built towers on wheels and sent them against the walls. But the war god, Kwan, supported by strong reënforcements under Gen. Hsiang Yang, beat them off.

Curious strategy marked many of the Taiping battles. On one occasion, Siu, the Viceroy of the two Kwang provinces, revived an ancient Chinese stratagem. He rounded up four thousand buffaloes, tied them together and fastened resin torches to their horns. The herd was driven toward the rebel camp at nightfall by an Imperialist army of four thousand men. The preparations for this strange expedition had been kept a profound secret—or so the Imperialists believed—but somehow the rebels got wind of it. According to Siu's scheme, every buffalo would be transformed into a "fire chariot" and would commit fearful ravages within the enemy's camp, killing every one in reach and setting fire to the camp. The rebels ambushed this torchlight procession and fell upon it from the rear. Two thousand of the Imperial troops were left dead on the field, and others were pursued up to the very walls of the Viceroy's city. The buffaloes furnished the Taipings with meat for many weeks.

The Taipings left Kweilin on May 19th, 1852, crossed the great southern watershed, and marched into the province of Hunan. Harrying their rear came the Imperial general, Ho Chun, with 7,000 provincial braves. The rebels took the city of Hsingan on May 22nd, and Chuanchow on June 3rd. From there they tried to go down river to Changsha, the capital of Hunan. A little below Chuanchow, where the river was narrow, they were checked by Imperialists who had felled trees across the stream. The rebels beat back the Imperialists in a two-day engagement, but they lost all their boats and a thousand of their best soldiers. Far more serious was the loss of their able leader Fung Yun-shan, the Southern King, who was killed in the battle. The rebels had to abandon the river and march overland to Taochow, which they took on June 12th.

At Taochow the Imperialists tried a Chinese stratagem of ancient vintage, so rebel tradition has it. The appearance of the Taipings in Hunan filled the Imperialists with fear and rage, and they swore to recapture Taochow and exterminate its garrison. They laid siege to the city with an army of 40,000 men. This force attacked several times, but the rebels beat it from the walls. The Imperialists then raised around the city a wall twenty feet thick, and left in it one opening. They then turned the course of the Tao-kiang and sent it through the opening in the wall. This was to have drowned the Taipings like rats in a trap. But something went wrong. The Taipings came out of Taochow with thousands of new adherents and on August 15th they captured the departmental city of Kwei-yang. Here the Heavenly King, and the Eastern and Northern Kings remained with most of the rebel army. Hsiao Chao-

kwei, the Western King, pressed on with his shock troops, the Taiping battalions of death, and on September 11th appeared before the walls of Changsha.

The most important event of the rebellion in 1852 was the Taiping entrance into Hunan. Changsha, the capital of the province, was barely saved by the Imperialists. The rebels came on so fast that the city gates were closed against them just in the nick of time. Only the fact that Hsiao Chao-kwei's officers mistook the tower at the south-eastern corner of the city wall for one of the main gates gave the commandant at Changsha time to close the gates against the rebels. The Western King stormed Changsha several times and inflicted heavy losses upon the Imperialist defenders. The Peking *Gazette* listed forty-four Imperial officers killed in one action on the walls, including a major-general and a lieutenant-general. The heaviest loss of the Taipings in the siege was the death of the Western King himself. He was killed by a cannon ball.

The Western King was one of the most able and moderate of the rebel leaders. His death, and the death of Fung Yun-shan, removed two of the best influences from the Taiping movement. These men had counteracted the influence of Yang, the fanatical Eastern King. Their deaths left Yang supreme in the rebel staff. The Northern and Assistant Kings could not oppose his policies, and so he had complete sway over the army. The Heavenly King, according to rebel accounts, did not greatly concern himself with war after the proclamation of the empire, but spent his time in *peen shoo*, writing books.

After the death of the Western King, the whole

Taiping army, under the command of the Eastern King, was brought from Kwei-yang to strengthen the siege of Changsha. The siege lasted eighty days. The rebels sprang mines under the walls on November 10th, 13th, and 29th, and stormed through the breeches, but each time they were repulsed. It is one of the strange coincidences of the rebellion that the governor of Changsha who defended it against the rebels, was one Lo Ping-chang, a native of the village in which Hung Siu-tsuen was born.

On November 30th the Taipings raised the siege and moved in the direction of the Yangtze. Several armies had gathered to intercept them. These they eluded by a simple ruse. They sent a small force down the Hsiang river toward Siangtan to draw off the main Imperial army in pursuit. Then they crossed the Hsiang river on pontoon bridges and marched without hindrance to Yiyang, where they began the river progress which thereafter formed the chief feature of their advance. Many of their best leaders had been sea rovers and rivermen, and they were adept in campaigning by water. At Yiyang they found thousands of boats. To these they transferred their supplies and then drifted down the Hsiang river to Tung-ting lake, the largest body of water in Central China. They crossed the lake, and took the city of Yoh-chow. The Imperialist defenders fled at their approach. Yoh-chow is one of the great trading centers of that part of China. It is connected by a canal with the Yangtze river. Immense quantities of supplies and great magazines of war munitions fell into the rebel hands, and they captured a fleet of vessels, large and small, estimated at five thousand sail. Recruits flocked

to them from all sides. Their period of great fortune was at hand.

The Taiping war fleet now numbered nearly ten thousand vessels. With this great armada the rebels went down the Yoh-chow canal to the Yangtze and moved upon the Wuhan cities, at the junction of the Han and Yangtze rivers, one of the most important industrial and commercial centers of the Chinese empire. By December 23rd they had taken Hanyang and Hankow, and had crossed the river to Wuchang, the capital of Hupeh province. They took Wuchang by storm on January 12th. In these three cities, which at that time contained a population estimated at four millions, they remained one month. They occupied this time mostly with transferring treasure and provisions to their fleet, which was then large enough to transport five armies of 12,500 men each, together with their wives and children, campfollowers, and all their supplies.

The fall of the Wuhan cities stirred Peking as nothing else had stirred it. Kishen, the mandarin who had succeeded Lin Tse-hsu as Imperial Commissioner at Canton during the Opium War, was ordered out of retirement by the emperor. He was sent with picked armies from the north to ward off a rebel dash at Peking.

From the Wuhan cities the vast Taiping armada sailed slowly down the Yangtze to Nanking, a distance, measured by the sinuosities of the river, of more than four hundred miles. Town after town on both banks of the river fell to them. On February 17th they took the important city of Kiukang, and on February 24th, Anking, the capital of Anhwei.

When the Taipings appeared before the outer defences of Nanking, on March 8th, 1853, they had an army of nearly eighty thousand men, and were well supplied with treasure and provisions. They laid siege to Nanking at once. On March 19th they set off a mine under the wall near the northern angle and made a breach thirty yards wide. Through this breach they stormed and met with only slight resistance from the Shantung and Kweichow provincial troops who mannned the walls. The rebels moved from the north wall to the southern part of the city, which in the time of the Mings was known as the Imperial quarter. Here they met the Manchu garrison, the hereditary organization of the Bannermen, which, according to the Chinese Imperial Army regulations, numbered a little over 5,000 men. The victorious rebels brushed aside these dreaded tigers of the Emperor as if they had been sheep. A bare hundred of the Manchus escaped.

With the capture of Nanking, what Meadows called the "concentrated and locomotive phase" of the Taiping rebellion was ended. The rebellion came to a state of pause. How this happened is one of the curious stories of the Taipings. According to all accounts the Heavenly King and the Eastern King wanted to press north at once after the capture of Nanking, establish themselves along the Yellow River in Honan, and put their armies in a favorable position to attack Peking. Competent military authorities are agreed that had they done this they might have taken Peking with ease. The rebel leaders, so it is said, were dissuaded from this plan by a boatman who argued that "the rivers are small in Honan and if besieged

there you will be unable to obtain any rescue. Now that you have Nanking, the command of the great river and a number of boats, what necessity is there for a move into Honan? Nanking should be the Imperial home, as the city is lofty, the moat deep, and the people wealthy. Why not establish your capital here?"

This story is probably a somewhat fanciful statement of the fact that the Taiping rank and file had no great desire to cross the Yangtze. They were southerners, and a march into the north did not please them overmuch. The Taiping leaders probably felt that they could not count on new recruits in the north, and since the rank and file was lukewarm to the idea, a northward march was abandoned. The only move which the rebels made toward Peking was to send a small expedition from Nanking in May, 1853, with general orders to march to the north. This expedition reached the Metropolitan province of Chihli, where it was halted by Mongol cavalry under Senkolinsin, the famous prince of desert horsemen who was dubbed "Sam Collinson" by the British soldiers who fought against him in 1860.

IV. THE GREAT PEACE KINGDOM

THE Taipings now settled down in Nanking. Their army was split up into several divisions. The main force stayed in Nanking. Smaller armies were sent out to bring the surrounding country under the Heavenly King's dominion. Chinkiang, Kwachow, and Yang-chow were taken early in April, 1853, to strengthen the rebel position on the Yangtze and to have command of the Grand Canal. These cities fell without a blow. The Imperial fleet fled in dismay at the sight of the enormous armada moving against them. The Manchu troops, warned by the fate of their compatriots at Nanking, had left long before the rebels came up. At Yangchow a long battery of guns that lined the river for three miles fell into the hands of the Taipings. Not one of these guns had been discharged against them. At Kwachow they captured a thousand junks laden with tribute grain bound for Peking.

Chinese observers of the campaign of 1853 said that the Taipings had made themselves so strong in Nanking that they could stand a siege of from four to eight years. The insurgents had found enormous stores of rice and other provisions and a military chest of $600,000 in Nanking. Because of their position at Chinkiang, Yangchow, and Kwachow, they were able to intercept supplies sent to

Peking by the Grand Canal, then the great channel of communication between north and south China. The Imperial capital and its garrison of 100,000 Manchus with their families, depended largely on supplies of tribute grain sent from the south by the Grand Canal. In 1853 the price of grain trebled in Peking, and the Imperial treasury was depleted by the cost of expeditions against the Taipings.

From 1853 up to 1860, when Frederick Townsend Ward appeared upon the scene, the rebels occupied this important military position in the heart of the Chinese empire. Nanking became the Heavenly Capital, the residence of the Heavenly King and his court. The city was a vast military camp. Its people were governed by a set of laws as severe as the Mosaic Code.

The Taiping government was theocratic. Their civil organization, like the military, resembled ancient Chinese models, modified by the rebel leaders' study of the Old Testament. Since the Taipings, during their entire career, were engaged in a life and death struggle, they were always under martial law and so had little chance to work out their civil organization in detail. Still they seem to have done fairly well. William James Hail says that under the Taiping control taxation was less burdensome for the villagers and farmers "than under Manchu rule, while on the other hand their products were purchased at fair prices and not taken from them forcibly. Apart from strictly enforcing the religious and moral precepts of their faith, overturning idols and temples, and forbidding the use of opium and alcohol, the insurgents did all they could to encourage agriculture and trade. The statistics for these

years show that the export of tea actually increased under the Taipings from 1858 to 1862, while silk practically held its own. Internal transit duties were not collected and the trade must have moved with unusual freedom."

The rebel leaders treated the native Chinese population with moderation and tried to hold their troops in check. Strict laws were made against looting or disturbing the populace in any way. At this time Yang, the Eastern King, was in the ascendant. He had become generalissimo of all the Taiping forces, and his laws "were so severe that the military and all the people were afraid." The Loyal King, one of the ablest and most chivalrous of the Taiping generals says of this time: "The laws were very strict. A stringent order was enacted for giving peace to the people. It was that no officer or soldier who should enter a person's house, when the work of restoring order was in progress, should be spared."

When the Taipings took Nanking they did away with the old Chinese calendar, and changed the old system of education. The year of 366 days was divided into twelve months of thirty and thirty-one days each. Leap years were abolished. The Bible supplanted Confucius as the classic which all students must study. Examinations for civil and military officers were provided according to old Chinese custom. The literary themes for these examinations were chosen from the Old and New Testaments and from the writings of the Taiping leaders.

Religion occupied the rebel leaders always. A few days after the capture of Nanking, Hung Siu-tsuen sent a letter to the Rev. Issachar J. Roberts who had been his teacher at Canton. He invited the Baptist missionary to visit Nan-

king and help "propagate the Gospel." The Heavenly King wrote:

"In consequence of the multiplicity of public affairs engaging my attention, I have not had leisure to instruct the people morning and evening. But I have promulgated the Ten Commandments to the army and to the rest of the population, and have taught them all to pray morning and evening. Still, those who understand the Gospel are not many. Therefore I deem it right to send the messenger . . . in person to wish you peace, and to request you, my elder brother, if you are not disposed to abandon me, to come and bring with you many brethren to help propagate the Gospel and administer the ordinance of baptism. So shall we retain the true doctrine. Hereafter, when my enterprise is successfully terminated, I will disseminate the doctrine through the whole empire, that all may return to the one Lord and worship the only true God. This is what my heart truly desires. Wishing you happiness, your ignorant younger brother salutes you."

The Rev. Mr. Roberts found it impossible to bring "many brethren" to Nanking. In fact he found it difficult to go himself, because of the severe American laws of neutrality. He went, but his mission was not very successful. He insisted on radical changes in the Taiping ritual, and tried to convince the rebels that they should adopt total immersion and abandon their own special mode of baptism, which was the washing of the bosom to denote a cleansing of the heart. He failed in his efforts and left the Heavenly Capital in anger.

Though the Heavenly King spent much of his time working out schemes for religious and civil reform, he

could do little because of the pressure of enemies without, and plotters within, his camp. At first he was undisputed master of a territory extending for more than five hundred miles along the Yangtze. After 1855 he lost most of this territory and was closely besieged in Nanking by the Imperial army. The slump in the Taiping fortunes after 1855 was caused by quarrels among the minor kings.

The death of Fung Yun-shan and Hsiao Chao-kwei had removed the two most brilliant and moderate Taiping leaders. Yang, the fanatical Eastern King, rose rapidly in power after the death of these two men. None of the other kings under Hung Siu-tsuen was strong enough to oppose him. By 1855 Yang had become the acting head of the army and the state, and was virtual dictator. It was said that he aspired to honors equal to those of the Heavenly King himself. His power and his arrogance won him the jealousy and the hatred of the Northern and Assistant Kings, and they plotted to assassinate him. There was some difference of opinion between the plotters as to just who should be killed. The Assistant King, Shi Ta-kai, wanted only the Eastern King and his relatives killed. Wei Chang-hui, the Northern King, thought otherwise. He assassinated Yang and his relatives, and then "slew the whole of the Eastern King's followers, both civil and military, male and female."

This butchery led to a feud between the Northern King and the Assistant King. The Assistant King was forced to flee from Nanking with his army. The Northern King then slaughtered the Assistant King's family and many of his followers. The people became sick of his butcheries at last, and rose against him. He was killed and his head

sent as a peace trophy to the Assistant King, who then returned to the rebel capital and was given a high place in the Taiping councils. But he could not get along with the Heavenly King's relatives, who had been intrusted with the highest offices of the state by their Imperial kinsman. These relatives knew nothing of military strategy or of government, and owed their appointments simply to the fact that they were members of the Hung family—which was, of course, quite proper according to immemorial Chinese family custom. They relied solely upon the revelations of Siu-tsuen, and his assurances that God would set everything right. Consequently they considered the prudent policies of the Assistant King too worldly, and did their best to thwart him. Shortly after his return to Nanking the Assistant King withdrew from the city, and set out as a sort of rebel knight-errant. For many years he kept up a rebellion of his own. He passed through Kiangsi, Hunan, Kwangsi, and into Yunnan and Szechuan. He was captured by the Imperialists at Shuchow, in Szechuan, January 31st, 1863, and put to death with 2,000 of his followers. He has become a hero of popular legend in the southwestern provinces of China.

These dissensions crippled the Taiping cause for a time. The Heavenly King sickened of the world and retired into seclusion in his palace, leaving the practical affairs of the kingdom to his relatives. His retirement led to all sorts of conjectures, and many curious tales were told of his activities. The Taipings insisted that he spent his time in writing religious books. They came to look upon him as a Veiled Prophet who never showed himself to the people and who had intercourse only with God. The

Imperialists and Europeans in Shanghai thought otherwise. According to their tales, Hung devoted the last years of his reign to pleasures forbidden to true believers since Old Testament days. Very little was known of Hung Siutsuen's life in Nanking, for no European or Imperialist ever saw him there. Now and again some European visitor to Nanking would witness a ceremony outside the Heavenly King's palace and would draw his own conclusions about what went on inside. One of these visitors was Lieut.-Col. G. J. Wolseley, quartermaster of the British Expeditionary Force in China.

"The Tien-Wang," said Wolseley, "now lives thoroughly secluded from all male society within the recesses of his palace, surrounded by his host of wives and swarms of concubines, or female attendants, whichever he may choose to term them, no male servant being under any pretext permitted within the sacred precincts of his residence. His palace is quite new, and forms with one or two others and some very badly constructed fortifications, the only monuments of the new dynasty. In appearance it has nothing peculiar about it, being built according to the general design of all public buildings in the "flowery land." In its decoration, however, it copies most accurately the Imperial yellow tiling and unmeaning-looking royal dragon. As on the day we visited this palace an edict was issued by the Heavenly King, we had an opportunity to witness the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

"A long, covered porch leads up to the gate of the private residence, and on this a red carpet was spread. All the officials of the guard and those apparently belonging to the public offices in the immediate neighborhood came

forward in their state dresses, and kneeling in rows facing the gate, waited in that position until it should be opened. After a little time the lofty yellow doors were thrown open, and a woman appeared, carrying a highly ornamented tray, upon which was a sort of despatch-box, painted a bright canary colour, and having pictures of dragons on each side. It was sealed up, and contained within the sacred edict. Upon seeing the box, all present immediately bent their heads and the great crowd which had assembled, partly to witness the ceremony and partly to stare at the foreign devils, fell down upon their knees, all repeating with a regular cadence, 'Ten thousand years, ten thousand years, ten thousand times ten thousand years,' which, although as it were analogous to our loyal exclamation of 'God save the Queen!' is with them repeated with all the fervour of adoration. A sort of yellow-coloured sedan-chair, with glass sides, was then brought forward, in which the precious mandate was placed, and then borne away on the shoulders of eight coolies, amidst a loud salvo of guns, a band of music playing in front and a swarm of attendants following. It was taken to the Tsan-wang's palace."

After the Heavenly King's retirement from worldly affairs, few able men remained to guide the rebel movement. "Ever since the Assistant King left the capital and the Northern King was murdered," writes the Loyal King in his autobiography, "the feeling of the people had undergone a great change. The government affairs were in disorder, each was pursuing his own course, and there was no union between them. The sovereign had become reserved, and the affair between the Eastern, Northern,

—Courtesy of the British Museum.

A CHINESE MADONNA

An 18th Century Chinese artist's conception of The Madonna and Child. The Madonna has been given many of the attributes of Kuan-Yin, the Buddhist goddess of Mercy. The Taipings may be said to have adopted this conception of the Madonna.

and Assistant Kings had so alarmed him that he was distrustful of his ministers, and had confidence only in his own family and relatives."

The fortunes of the Taipings were revived by the rise of several able leaders after 1856. The ablest of these was the Loyal King. He had joined the rebel army as a private, and had risen rapidly in the service. Toward the end of the rebellion he became generalissimo of the Taiping armies, and he proved himself the greatest captain which the rebel movement developed. Several times he outgeneraled the Imperialist commanders and drove them back before Nanking.

Shortly after Ward came to Shanghai, in 1860, the Loyal King crushed the Imperial armies around Nanking. He recaptured all the territory which the Taipings held in 1853, and extended the rebel dominion to Soochow, Hangchow, and to a cordon of cities within thirty miles of Shanghai. Great armies under the Loyal King's command marched toward the seaboard of Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces. The appearance of these armies threw Shanghai into panic. The Imperialists had more than they could handle in their war with France and Great Britain, and they left Shanghai and the seaboard practically undefended. The fall of Shanghai seemed imminent.

Such was the position of Taipings and Imperialists when Frederick Townsend Ward took the field, and was beaten by the Loyal King's troops at Sungkiang.

V. THE ROWDY LEGION

EUROPEAN Shanghai had a good laugh when Ward's beaten force straggled back from Sung-kiang. The French and British military officers in the city said that the upstart Yankee adventurer had got what he deserved. They hoped he would take the lesson to heart and clear out. Ward had no such intention. He stayed on in Shanghai, undiscouraged, thinking out his next move. He got no sympathy from the foreign officials. The consuls and merchants looked upon his undertaking with dislike. The naval and military officers were openly contemptuous of it. Even the Americans in Shanghai, influenced by European opinion, gave Ward little encouragement.

Shanghai in the 1860's was coming up rapidly as one of the world's great seaports. It was in reality several cities. There was the quarter of the older Chinese residents. Over against this native settlement was the solid, many-windowed European Shanghai. Here were homes and offices built in the Western style, with Western landscape architecture to set them off. The Westerners, in the few years' time since the opening of Shanghai to foreign trade, had built themselves clubs, and even a race-course, and had laid the foundations of a social life of consider-

able pretensions. Dotting the architectural scene here and there were missions of the White Christ. In the fields back of the growing magnificence of Western Shanghai and the settled native city, was a city of squatters living in starvation and filth, hugging the mere hope of life against hunger, disease, and exposure. These were the refugees who had fled before the Taipings, disintegrating Chinese hordes cast up by the tides of civil war.

For some days Ward wandered about these cities, planning what to do. His first failure before Sungkiang he ascribed to hasty organization, lack of discipline, and lack of cannon. He was too brave a man to ascribe it to the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Taipings. No American or European soldier in the East at that time would have thought of such a thing. The wars of Britain with China had taught the Westerners such contempt for the military prowess and courage of the Chinese that European soldiers felt themselves invincible before any number of Chinese troops. But Ward was a sensible man. He had learned to respect, a little, the courage of the Taipings in his first encounter with them at Sungkiang. He saw that their weak point was lack of modern equipment and organization, and that a force disciplined, armed, and munitioned according to Western standards could make an opening for a larger force to come in and put them to rout. This larger force would have to be an Imperialist army. Ward's plan for his second move against the Taipings depended on a well-disciplined force under his command, adequate artillery, and the coöperation of the Chinese provincial troops.

The first thing was to get together a body of men who

would be an army and not a mob. In the native city, Ward met a young Manilaman, as the Filipinos were then called, who helped him. This was Vicente Macanaya, a youth of twenty-three, born in Manila. Vicente was a soldier of fortune, and was known as a wildcat in battle. He had a big following among the Shanghai Manilamen, who were considered the best of Asiatic seamen, and first-rate military material. These Filipino beachcombers were numerous in Shanghai at that time, and were as unpopular as the rowdies who had made up Ward's first force. When Ward started to enlist these men European Shanghai shrugged its shoulders and said the Manilamen would get what they needed from the Taiping musketeers at Sungkiang. Shanghai began to feel that Ward was a sort of scavenger sent to rid the community of ruffians.

In his first attack upon Sungkiang, Ward had yielded to the importunities of his Chinese backers who wanted action at once. Now he made up his mind that he would not move before he was ready. He enlisted two hundred Manilamen and a half dozen foreign drillmasters, mostly deserters from the British marines. He put these men into camp a few miles from Shanghai. With Burgevine, Forrester, and Macanaya as his lieutenants, he proceeded to teach his raw recruits the meaning of "hay foot, straw foot," and other military mysteries of the West. He put the force under the strictest discipline, and when he felt that his new army was getting on with its training, he set out in search of cannon.

Within a month after his first attempt upon Sungkiang, Ward was ready to try again. He had got his cannon, and had persuaded Gen. Li Ai-tang, commander of the Chi-

nese provincial troops at Shanghai, to back him up. With General Li he now laid plans for his second expedition against Sungkiang.

The plan was to have Ward's men take up a position at nightfall within a hundred yards of the East Gate of Sungkiang. In the meantime Li Ai-tang's army of seven thousand men would move up and encamp about a mile from the East Gate, to cover the rear of Ward's force in case of defeat, and to come in if Ward got a foothold in the city. The attack was to begin at ten o'clock with a cannonade. The East Gate was to be battered down and taken in the first rush, its cannon were to be turned upon the city, and then Li and his men were to come in.

Ward's force left Shanghai in the late afternoon of July 16th, 1860, and was transported by boat up the Huangpu river to Sungkiang. The evening was foggy. When the force arrived, just after nightfall, it was able to take up its position without arousing the Taiping garrison. Ward's men debarked some little distance from Sungkiang and were lined up by their officers for final orders and inspection of equipment. Everything was in good shape. The men were ordered to creep up within a hundred yards of the wall.

Ward and his first officer, Edward Forrester, went forward and made sure of their position by examining the walls and the gate which they were to bombard. When they returned, they sighted their guns toward the East Gate, and sent word to General Li Ai-tang to be ready to support the attack. In the foggy night it was impossible to tell whether or not Li Ai-tang's army had arrived, but Ward knew it was not far from Sungkiang.

At ten o'clock, out of the black night, Ward's guns blazed away at the East Gate of Sungkiang. He had two twelve-pounders and several light six-pounder guns, and these did the work quickly. The Taipings rushed to the walls and returned the fire, but Ward's concentrated cannonade smashed down the gate before the rebel fire could do any damage. Ward gave the signal for the charge. His Manilaman rushed the gate with a cheer, crossed the moat on ladders, and advanced to meet the Taiping garrison.

They met a blank wall. Ward examined the position hastily, and discovered that Chinese engineering was not to be brushed aside so lightly. His work was just begun. The inner gate, at right angles to the gate which had been smashed down, was still intact. Ward immediately ordered his guns forward. He soon found this impossible, for he had no bridges to bring them over the moat. The next best thing was to blow up the gate with blasting powder. Ward had brought twenty fifty-pound bags of powder, and he now ordered them carried forward. While this was going on Ward's men were under cover of the arch of the main gate, protected from the direct fire of the Taipings, but not from the stinkpot bombs, which were swung under the arch in great number. (The stinkpot was an earthenware hand-bomb charged with asphyxiating chemicals. It was much used by Chinese pirates.) The fumes from these bombs soon made the position of the force under the archway a bad one.

Blowing up the inner gate was not easy. To lay the blasting powder Ward's men had to cross an open court surrounded by a high semi-circular wall on which were hundreds of Taipings armed with matchlocks and gingalls.

Ward and Macanaya led the blasting party. As soon as the party rushed out from the cover of the arch the wall around them blazed with fire. Men fell on all sides. An English deserter beside Ward had the top of his head taken off by a cannon ball. But the party went forward spurred by the cool daring of Ward and Macanaya. They piled the powder bags against the inner gate under murderous fire from the wall, put in a backing of wood and bricks from the demolished outer gate, and laid a fuse. The blasting party then scuttled for the cover of the archway.

Under the arch Ward's men waited for the explosion, ready to dash for the city when the blast came. The fuse had been cut long, and the few minutes they had to wait seemed an eternity. Stinkpot bombs came under the arch like hail. The filibusters had begun to fear that something had happened to their fuse when the blast came. The air was still thick with flying bricks and wood as Ward and Macanaya rushed toward the inner gate, followed by Forrester, Burgevine, and the Manilamen. As they stumbled through fog and smoke toward the gate they found that it was still standing. The iron-plated teakwood doors were intact, and it looked for a moment as if Ward's second attack on Sungkiang was to fail. But Ward found an opening, two feet wide where one of the doors had been forced in. There was just space enough for one man to pass. Without a moment's hesitation, Ward squeezed through this opening, followed by Macanaya, Forrester, and Burgevine. They went in to what looked like certain death. The rebels rushed upon them from the walls, and before a dozen men were through they were

surrounded by hundreds of Taipings. The officers carried swords and Colt's revolvers, and these proved terribly effective in the hand-to-hand fighting. The leaders were able to hold back the Taipings while the whole force made its way in, man by man. Not a man of Ward's rowdy legion faltered.

Then began a vicious hand-to-hand battle for the possession of the East Gate. The Manilamen were armed with Sharp's repeating carbines, the most effective gun of its kind at that time, and with the Malay kris, a wicked weapon at close quarters. From the inner gate a ramp led to the top of the wall, where was stationed a battery of guns which was the key to the city. Step by step Ward and his men cut their way through a solid mass of bodies. The wall was forty feet high. It took Ward's force two hours to climb that forty feet. Inch by inch Ward's daredevils made their way up the narrow ramp along the inner wall, slashing and firing at such close quarters that the discharge of their rifles set fire to their enemies' clothing. In a short time four thousand rebels were massed along the ramp and about the East Gate. Through this mass of soldiers armed with swords, spears and ancient muskets the filibusters slashed their way, driving bayonets and krises into the living wall. Wherever there was space for a man to stand up, there a Taiping would stand swinging his sword, ready to oppose at the cost of his life the advance of the foreign "devil soldiers." For two hours the battle raged uncertainly. Hardly a man in the force was unwounded. Captain Forrester fought through most of the engagement with a shattered thigh, dragging himself up

—*Courtesy Cosmopolitan Magazine.*

COL. EDWARD FORRESTER
Second in Command Under
General Ward.

—*Courtesy Harper's Magazine.*

COL. H. A. BURGEVINE
Ward's lieutenant and later his
successor.

the incline and using his revolver. Ward himself was wounded, though not seriously.

Slowly the Taipings melted away before the torrid fire of Ward's Manilamen, and at midnight the force reached the top of the wall and took the battery of guns. 62 men had been killed out of the original force of 200. Of the remaining 138 men, 101 were wounded.

Ward was now in possession of the East Gate of Sungkiang and able to turn its guns upon the city. But his position was shaky. On three sides were the rebels, overwhelmingly outnumbering his men. When the rebels saw how small the force was they began a series of counter attacks that continued all night with undiminished fury. Ward's men hastily built a breastwork of stone and brick gathered from the wall. Behind this they lay and held off the Taiping rushes with effective volleys. It soon became evident to Ward that he could not hold this position long. He needed the reënforcement of Li Ai-tang's army to make good his hold on the city. But there was neither sight nor sound of Li.

Ward now swung a messenger over the walls, with orders to tell Li Ai-tang of the capture of the East Gate, and with a demand that he move his troops up to Sungkiang at once. Ward could not command Li, since the Chinese general was under orders simply to coöperate with him. Time passed and no Li Ai-tang. Ward's Manilamen fought on, hour after hour. Another messenger was dispatched, and then another, and another, but all night long Li's seven thousand braves failed to appear. Dawn came and still no Li.

A little after six o'clock in the morning, when Ward's

force had been reduced to a hundred effectives, officers and men, through the foggy morning light appeared the head of Li's columns. The Chinese general had not believed the messengers who told him the East Gate was taken. He had refused to move his army until morning when he could see with his own eyes that it was safe to advance. The approach of the Imperialist force threw the rebels into confusion. Their fire slackened, and soon after they were in full retreat. Before Li's army arrived, the main body of the Taipings had evacuated the city. Sungkiang was in the hands of Frederick Ward.

Ward now established his headquarters near the Confucian temple in Sungkiang. He fixed up a hospital for his wounded, rounded up the rebels in the city, issued proclamations ordering the populace to be quiet and to return to their allegiance to the Emperor, and conscripted coolies for cleaning up the place, like any conqueror. He then set about rebuilding his army. This was not difficult for his strong box was now filled with gold. He got his contract price for the capture of Sungkiang, reported to have been anywhere from $45,000 to $133,000. The plunder left by the Taipings and the loot of the city itself went further to increase his funds. Recruits flocked to him —European and American soldiers of fortune, deserters from the British and French fleets stationed in Shanghai, Manilamen, and even Chinese, for though the Chinese consider the lot of soldiers lower even than that of beggars, they were attracted to Ward by the same thing that attracted the Americans and Europeans—gold.

Ward's capture of Sungkiang was hailed by the Chinese as a great victory. European military observers saw in

it a shrewd strategic move. Sungkiang was an important link in the rebel lines around Shanghai. With Sungkiang in rebel hands a large force from Hangchow could easily have descended upon Shanghai by the Huangpu river. Ward's capture of Sungkiang broke the rebel line of communications and blocked an attack from Hangchow where the Taipings were present in force.

When Ward returned to Shanghai, bringing his backers the city of Sungkiang, they could not restrain their delight. His victory was the first real success of Imperial arms in Kiangsu. Yang Tze-tang of the Taki bank, and the Taotai Wu could see themselves rising high in the service of the Emperor on a stairway hewn by this foreign devil whom they had shrewdly hired. To the Chinese Ward became a popular hero. His popularity with the Europeans was nowise increased. The British and French officers still thought him an upstart adventurer who ought to be suppressed. They liked him less than ever, now that he was successful. He was not a regular soldier, and so could not win battles according to the military text books.

The prime reason for the resentment of the officers was the fact that in driving back the Taipings Ward was doing the job which every officer in Shanghai wanted to do. The British diplomatic representative, the Hon. Frederick Bruce (later Sir Frederick), and M. de Bourboulon, the French Consul General, had announced on May 26th, 1860, that the naval and military forces of Britain and France would be used to defend Shanghai against rebel attack. They feared that were Shanghai "to become the scene of an attack and of civil war, commerce would receive a severe blow, and the interests of those whether for-

eign or native, who wish to pursue their peaceful avocations in quiet would suffer great loss." This announcement, the officers knew, meant that sooner or later the European forces would be drawn into an offensive campaign against the Taipings. They did not want to be forestalled by a "Yankee adventurer."

While Ward was still an unknown upstart who would probably lose his life before Sungkiang, the Europeans did not much care what he did. Now that he had captured Sungkiang and was the commander of an army of his own they felt it their duty to suppress him. The British demanded that the Chinese authorities disband Ward's force at once. Wu the Taotai, and Yang, the banker, with subtle courtesy, agreed to everything the British gentlemen said. Ward was a bad man and his army should be disbanded.

Ward knew well what the Europeans in Shanghai were saying about him. His Chinese employers saw to that. But he went on with his plans. He knew that his success at Sungkiang must be backed up by other successes and promptly, and he believed in "riding his luck." Only by continued successes could he keep the confidence of his Chinese employers, and the Taipings would be at him if he rested too long on his laurels. Within two weeks he had recruited his force to full strength again, had bought new supplies of arms, including several cannon, and had laid plans for the capture of Tsingpu, a city lying between Shanghai and the great rebel camp at Soochow.

In his anxiety to score a success at Tsingpu Ward made heavy inroads on the crews of ships at Shanghai. He enlisted upwards of thirty deserters from the British navy,

and quite a number of deserters from merchant crews. Before the expedition started he had aroused against him the anger not only of the officers in charge of the European naval squadrons in Shanghai, but also of ship owners and merchant captains. "Pirate," "buccaneer," and "filibuster" were the mildest names applied to Ward by these gentlemen. They accused him of enticing men away from their ships. This was true only by indirection. Ward did not directly solicit deserters, but they were encouraged in their plans to leave their service by the knowledge that high pay, loot, and excitement might be had at Sungkiang by any European who had military training.

There had always been desertions at Far Eastern stations during hostilities of any kind. Many British deserters were with the Taipings, and others were scattered through the Imperialist armies. The British had complained as early as 1853 that deserters were serving on both sides in the rebellion. But the deserters with Ward were easy to get at, and the British began sending out marine patrols to capture them. Ward was clever enough to evade the patrols, but their presence worked a real hardship to him. It became impossible for him to send his wounded back to Shanghai for treatment, and he had to shift for them as best he could at Sungkiang.

In spite of opposition from so many quarters, Ward went ahead with his plans for Tsingpu, building up his army under great difficulties. He made British deserters the backbone of an army of two hundred Manilamen and a hundred Europeans of all nationalities, mostly officers or men from merchant ships. In a fortnight's time he whipped the force into excellent shape, and was ready for

his expedition against Tsingpu, which was a powerful Taiping stronghold, under the command of one of the Loyal King's favorite officers. Strong columns from Tsingpu had been scouring the country toward the coast, and had attacked the army of Ward's slow moving ally, General Li-Ai-tang, in its camp twelve miles from Shanghai. The capture of Tsingpu would block the rebels coming from Soochow, as the capture of Sungkiang had blocked a movement from Hangchow. With Sungkiang and Tsingpu in his hands, Ward felt that he could checkmate any sudden Taiping move toward Shanghai.

On August 2nd, Ward set out for Tsingpu at the head of the strongest army he had yet commanded. Three hundred of his own force, backed by ten thousand men from the Kiangsu provincial army, under the command of Li-Ai-tang. The force had two field guns and a number of smaller pieces, and was supported by a flotilla of Chinese gunboats. These Chinese gunboats, of which there were a great many then on the Yangtze, Wusung, and Huangpu rivers, were about fifty feet long and seven or eight feet broad. They were usually manned by a crew of twenty-five men, and pulled ten oars a side. Most of them had two guns mounted, one on a platform in the bow, the other in the stern. They were shallow, sat light upon the water, and pulled very fast. They carried the usual Chinese batten lug sails, and could go well before the wind. Ward took his force to Tsingpu in these boats. General Li made slower progress across country which was muddy and inundated by summer rains.

Ward attacked before the army of General Li had come up, counting on the Imperial "Braves" to finish the Tai-

pings once a part of the city wall was captured. The flotilla of Chinese gunboats made a feint against the west gate of the city, while the main force under Ward attacked the south gate. The attack on the south gate came as a surprise to the rebels, and Ward's men had no difficulty in scaling the wall under cover of the artillery. They took the gate and formed on the wall in position to repel counter attacks before the rebels knew what was happening.

The attack upon the wall had been brilliantly carried out. The European deserters fought with desperate courage. But they fought no better than the Manilamen under Vicente Macanaya. This young Filipino daredevil was at Ward's shoulder all through the battle, fighting like a demon. It looked like the second attack on Sungkiang all over again. It was a gallant action, but doomed to failure. This time the Taipings called Ward's bluff. They were in Tsingpu ten thousand strong, commanded by a resolute officer who had as lieutenant an Englishman named Savage.

This Savage was said to have been a naval deserter who had become a pilot in Chinese waters, and later joined the Taipings. He was considered a clever officer. Under his leadership the rebels at once counter-attacked and poured a withering fire into Ward's men. The battle waged desperately back and forth on the wall. For a time Ward's men stood their ground bravely. But the wall soon became too hot to hold them, and Li Ai-tang, as usual, was nowhere in sight. They were forced to retreat under terrific fire. Most of the officers, except Macanaya, were wounded. Ward was wounded five times. The worst was

a bullet wound that went through his face from cheek to jaw, and which would have stretched him flat on the wall had not Macanaya caught him as he fell. Ward recovered enough to direct the retirement of his force.

It was a disastrous retreat. The Taipings made a sally from the south gate and took Ward's field guns and munitions. Worse, the rebels captured the flotilla of gunboats, and forced Ward's battered contingent to march across the muddy fields of Kiangsu, nearly thirty miles, to Sungkiang.

On their march of retreat, Ward's men had the cold comfort of meeting the army of Imperial Braves, under Li Ai-tang, toiling across country toward Tsingpu. The Chinese turned back very quickly when they saw the condition of their allies.

Ward, though suffering severely from his wounds, would not believe that he was beaten. He returned to Shanghai on the gunboat *Confucius* and set about reorganizing his force again. He filled his ranks with Manilamen, British, French, and German deserters, and a mixed company of Mediterranean sailors, Italians, Greeks, and others, about a hundred in all, which brought the force nearly to its former strength.

He put this force under the command of his lieutenants, Forrester, Burgevine, and Macanaya, and ordered another attack on Tsing-pu. Ward went along on this expedition, but was not actively in command. His men, with the ten thousand braves of General Li's command, started out from Sungkiang in the afternoon to march across country to Tsingpu. The plan was to make a surprise attack upon

the south gate at night, but because of the mud, it was dawn before the allies arrived before Tsingpu.

This Kiangsu country in which Ward's campaigns were fought is a peninsula formed by the Yangtze River and Hangchow Bay. It is a great alluvial flat raised from the bed of the sea by the deposits of the Yangtze River. Most of it is only a few feet above sea level, though here and there isolated hills rise to the height of a few hundred feet. It is rich with trees, and grows rice and other cereals in great abundance. Rivers, canals, creeks, and ditches intersect it in every direction. This network of waters gives great facility for the movement of boats and small ships. On almost any day of the year Chinese mat sails appear to be moving over this plain in every direction. In Ward's time it was without roads, except for irregular bridle paths which meandered through fields of rice and cotton, between Chinese villages hidden in foliage beside willow-fringed streams. Along these paths an army could march only in Indian file. The Kiangsu plain is one of the most densely populated and fertile regions on earth, and one of the muddiest.

After an all night march through this country of mud Ward's tired force appeared before Tsingpu at dawn. Orders for an immediate attack were given, in the face of a hot fire from the walls. Ward's men went in bravely, and this time their Chinese allies backed them up.

Ward had four field pieces and with these he drove the defenders from the south gate. But the attack was foredoomed. The Loyal King had come into Kiangsu with an army made up of his best veterans, determined to clear the coastal region of Imperialists and their foreign allies,

and to take the city of Shanghai. Before Ward's men could scale the walls, these forces of the Loyal King from Soochow came into action, in a flanking movement. Burgevine and Forrester were forced to order a retreat after a vain attempt to save their guns. The rebel reënforcements came up so fast that they nearly surrounded the entire force. Ward's men had to cut their way through. The Taipings captured the field guns, and all the equipment of the allied forces, and almost took General Li Ai-tang himself.

A soldier of Ward's army said that the rebels "surrounded the Imperial camp, killed nearly one hundred Europeans, and wounded nearly as many more, and caused a very great number of the Chinese soldiers on board the vessels to jump overboard and drown themselves."

Ward had to be carried away from the scene of action in a sedan chair. The rebels pursued his men to the very walls of Sungkiang, where only a sortie of the garrison enabled them to pass safely into the city. It was a badly battered and defeated force that marched into Sungkiang, with a leader half-dead of his wounds. This second battle of Tsingpu was Ward's worst defeat.

After Tsingpu Forrester took command at Sungkiang. Ward went to Shanghai to have his wounds looked after. While he was there the Taiping army approached the city. Not even a broken jaw could keep Ward out of a fight. Augustus Allen Hayes, a New Englander connected with a commercial house in Shanghai, first met Ward at this time, and did not notice that he was wounded. Hayes has written that, "On the afternoon of August 18th, 1860, when things looked black for us, a man of slight

figure approached me as I stood at the Maloo Barrier. He had collected a few fighting men and desired to place them where they would be of use, and so amid the roar of artillery, the rattle of musketry, and the shrieks of native fugitives I first met General Ward. He was a man of excellent address, mild and gentle in manner, and as kind and warm-hearted as possible. His long hair and slight moustache were dark, and he habitually wore a blue coat, tightly buttoned."

The Taipings retired from Shanghai but they invested Sungkiang, thinking to put an end to the "devil soldiers." Forrester, who was in command, found it necessary to burn the west and south suburbs of Sungkiang up to the walled city itself, to keep the suburbs from falling into the hands of his enemies. These suburbs were larger and more populous than the walled city, and this act made the Chinese feel that things were in a bad way indeed.

For two weeks the rebels besieged Sungkiang. Night and day Ward's men, the wounded and the well, had to man the parapets against fierce attacks. The rebels stormed the walls again and again, columns advancing with scaling ladders under cover of a hot artillery fire. The attacks were well planned and carried out under the direction of the British deserter, Savage. Ward's sadly diminished force was called upon to extend itself to the utmost in beating off the Taipings who stormed with unabated fury, now here now there, until suddenly one night the attacks stopped. The next morning the rebel army had moved away and was marching toward Hangchow.

The reason given by Colonel Forrester for this sudden withdrawal of the Taiping forces from Sungkiang was

that Savage had been killed. In this Forrester was mistaken. The British deserter may have been killed, but the cause of the Taiping withdrawal was the Loyal King's movement away from Shanghai, because he did not want an open war with the western powers.

The Loyal King directed most of the actions around Shanghai in which Ward was engaged. He was a Kwangsi man of humble origin named Li Siu-cheng, and he had been a charcoal burner before he became a private in the rebel ranks when they set out from the South on their march to Nanking. During that march he was promoted several times, and after the capture of Nanking was given an important post on the Taiping general staff. He planned and carried out a series of brilliant campaigns against the Imperialists, and was the stay and prop of the Taiping cause in the last years of the rebellion.

In 1860 the Loyal King came near upsetting the Manchu dynasty. In March of that year he broke through the Imperialist cordon which had been drawn around Nanking and marched down the Yangtze Valley, capturing city after city by storm. The Imperial forces besieging Nanking were hastily withdrawn and sent after him. Suddenly he wheeled around, eluding the host sent to intercept him, reached Nanking, swept away the forts and stockades of the besiegers, then turned to engage the army pursuing him. In an action on May 3rd, 1860, the Loyal King routed the Imperial forces at Nanking. The Imperial army was destroyed, its munitions taken, and its commander committed suicide. In less than a month the Loyal King took all the important cities east of Nanking between the Yangtze valley and Hangchow Bay, except

Shanghai and Chefu. He made Soochow, a city of a million inhabitants and one of the most important capitals of China, the base of his operations against Shanghai. The possession of Shanghai was vital to the Taiping cause since it would give them access to the sea where they would be able to buy adequate military supplies from the western traders.

The *North-China Herald* tells a curious story of the siege of Nanking and the Loyal King's campaign of 1860. "The siege of Nanking," says the *Herald*, "was kept up in a strange manner. An outlet through which the Chang-maos (long-haired rebels) might have ingress and egress without much difficulty was kept open towards the south. Along this line a kind of fair was held. The government stores of rice etc., were here sold to the insurgents at high prices. By this passage too, came deserters anxious to become good men, but many more entered by it into the city anxious to become bad. Here it was that the braves of the Tien Wang gambled with the soldiers at Chang Kuo-liang, and exchanged their spoils of silver for arms, powder, opium, and women. Sometimes the General would push his authority, and several rebels would be taken, and immediately executed. But these were generally such as had excited the hatred of their besiegers by cheating at play, or refusing to pay for favours received. The rebels always retaliated, so the loss was the same on both sides. Suddenly (in May 1860) a sortie was made from Nanking. The works were stormed and taken. Consternation seized the Imperialist commanders, who fled before the coming storm. 70,000 of the Emperor's soldiers are reported immediately to have joined the rebels. Opposition

melted away like a cloud. Like a cloud the victorious insurgents rushed down the valley of the Grand Canal, and cities surrendered at the very sight of them."

It was this campaign of the Loyal King which threw Imperialist Shanghai into such a panic in the spring of 1860, and so terrified the Mandarins that they unhesitatingly engaged Ward as the defender of the city.

The Loyal King was the leader whom Ward had to face in his campaigns against the Taipings. Augustus F. Lindley, a Britisher, who served with the rebels and who knew the Loyal King, thus describes this remarkable man: "He seemed about thirty-five years of age, though the trace of arduous mental and physical exertion gave him a rather worn and older appearance. His figure, light, active, and wiry, was particularly well-formed, though scarcely of the Chinese middle height; his bearing erect and dignified, his walk rapid but stately. His features were very strongly marked, expressive, and good, though not handsome according to the Chinese idea, being slightly of a more European cast than they admire; the nose straighter than usual among the Chinese; the mouth small, almost delicate. . . . He was simply attired in an ordinary scarlet quilted jacket. On his head he wore a scarlet hood, of the usual shape, surmounted by a kind of undress coronet peculiar to himself, consisting of a large and valuable jewel in front with eight curious medallions, four in a row on each side."

The Loyal King has left an account of his battles with Ward for the possession of Tsingpu, Sungkiang, and Shanghai. He says he was surprised to hear in 1860 that foreigners in the pay of the Governor of Kiangsu were

attacking Tsingpu. "The news being very unfavourable from Tsingpu," he said, "induced me to march to that place in the middle of the sixth month, and in two days after my departure from Soochow I arrived there.

"I then drew up my men for an attack and was met by the foreigners whom we engaged from seven o'clock till noon, when the army of the foreigners was severely defeated and six or seven hundred of them killed. We captured 2,000 stands of arms, ten cannon, and more than one hundred foreign guns, together with several hundred of their boats, and compelled them to raise the siege of Tsingpu.

"We then went on straight to Sungkiang, stormed it and then bent our steps toward Shanghai, having been induced to come that way by some barbarians residing there. We were attracted, moreover, by some Imperialists who were in communication with us, and thus we had additional encouragement for making our venture. Our troops bivouacked at Chow-Chia-hui, about six miles from Shanghai. Three miles from Shanghai were four Imperialist stockades, against which two of my officers advanced on the following morning as soon as it was light, and carried them, the Imperialists deserting as soon as they saw our men approaching.

"When everything had been prepared for a march into the city and arrangements made for my reception, when I had reached there the atmosphere became darkened, the wind rose and thunder reverberated in the heavens. The ground was rendered so slippery from the immense quantity of rain, that neither man nor horse could obtain a firm footing, and so the march into Shanghai was unac-

complished and the foreigners who came out to meet me had the satisfaction of returning without me."

The Loyal King's narrative gives a somewhat allegorical account of what happened at Shanghai. It appears that he came to the city in the belief that the foreigners who worshipped the "true God" as the Taipings did, would receive him with open arms. They met him with cannon. Hundreds of his men were killed and he himself was wounded in the face by the fragment of an exploding shell. The Loyal King and his men acted with the greatest moderation. They did not return the fire of the Europeans, with whom they wanted to be friendly, but retired from the city with their dead and wounded. An account of what happened at Shanghai on this occasion has been written by an English clergyman, the Reverend Mr. Yates, who was an eyewitness of the affair. He says:

"The Chung Wang (Loyal King) with 20,000 men swept across the country, and on August 19th, approached the West Gate of Shanghai city, stopping at the forked tree, where he sent a dispatch to the foreign officials, but they declined to receive it. The dispatch was then brought to me . . . and I saw that it was a proposal from the Chung Wang that the Taiping forces should withdraw from the tea and silk districts, the occupancy of which was a source of annoyance to foreigners, because of the loss of trade—upon the condition that Shanghai should not be made a recruiting station for the Imperialists. But as I have said, the foreign officials refused to receive the dispatch, or have anything to do with the Chung Wang. The same day a British man-of-war, anchored in the river, threw a number of shells among the rebel soldiers. An-

other gun-boat was sent up, to near where the arsenal now stands, and shelled them also from there, the guns being directed by compass in both cases, from instructions given by a man at the mast head. The rebels heard the report of a gun, and then saw a shell fall, and 'fire again,' as they said, so they called them 'devil guns,' for they fired at both ends. Finding that the foreigners were their enemies, they quietly withdrew, but broken in spirit; for they came in friendliness, not intending to attack even the native city."

As soon as the rebels withdrew, Ward set about repairing the damages to the walls of Sungkiang, and to looking after his wounded. The wounded, of whom he was one, had not been faring well because of the lack of hospital facilities. Ward had tried to put his medical service on a proper footing, but this was difficult. There was only one European doctor with the force in Sungkiang, and he was not a good one. Ward made up his mind to take his wounded to Shanghai to get the proper surgical treatment. He himself needed both medical and surgical attention, for he was a badly wounded man, and a very sick one.

The Shanghai to which Ward returned was a place too hot to hold him. His Chinese backers were disgusted with the defeats at Tsingpu through which he had lost most of his military equipment. The European merchants of Shanghai and the high officials of the British and French naval squadrons were furious with him. The British admiral, Sir James Hope, was determined to put an end to Ward's activities and he had patrols out to arrest him whenever he appeared. Sir James, and the French Admiral, Protet, had forced Taotai Wu, to agree to the

disbanding of Ward's contingent. For a time Ward was the leader of what was nominally an outlaw force. But the Taotai true to the astute diplomacy which marked his career, knew how to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. He never gave any order for the disbanding of Ward's force, and he kept Ward informed of the movements of the British Marine patrols who were trying to corral him. This had been going on for some time before Ward's trip to Shanghai. Whenever Admiral Hope sent out a patrol to apprehend Ward and his men, Taotai Wu would give Ward information of the British move and enable him to avoid them.

In Shanghai, too, Ward eluded his British enemies without much trouble. He felt that luck was still with him and he worked energetically on plans for reorganizing his force. Before he had gone very far he saw that his former methods would work no longer. He might continue to outwit the British and to hold his own against the Taipings, but he could not make much headway without the active support of his Chinese backers. Wu and Yang were not only displeased with him because of the defeats at Tsingpu, but also they were afraid to continue their support because of the British opposition.

Ward saw that, if he wanted to continue, he would have to finance the force with his own money until he could gain the confidence of his backers with another victory. Even if it were possible to finance the force, it had become very difficult to keep its ranks filled. The supply of good fighting material among Shanghai Europeans and Manilamen was limited at the best, and now with the patrols of Sir James Hope watching every move, enlist-

ments grew scarce. Ward's last battles against the Taipings had shown him that a small force, no matter how well equipped, could not make headway against the immense armies of the able and courageous Loyal King. He would have to enlist a larger force and that now seemed impossible with Shanghai pratically eliminated as a recruiting station. Worse still, he could not use Shanghai as a hospital base. This last weighed heavily upon him, for he and his men had suffered severely for lack of proper surgical attention. He still carried lead in his body from the battle of Tsingpu. The wound in his face had healed badly, and left him with an impediment in his speech.

Ward was a sensible man as well as a brave one. He saw that the odds, at the moment, were heavily in favor of his enemies, and he decided he had better walk softly until things quieted down, and in the meantime go to some place where he could get surgical treatment.

Leaving his officers in charge in Sungkiang, and paring his force down to the bare number needed to hold the city, he took passage for France. He arrived in Paris in the late fall of 1860. There he engaged a surgeon to make him over for his next campaign against the Taipings. The surgeon removed several pieces of lead from Ward's body, and performed an operation on his face. The operation improved Ward's speech considerably, but there was always a little halt in his voice. The wound in his face left a permanent distortion, which gave him a curious look of sinister intensity afterward commented upon by his enemies. Ward carried the scars of Tsingpu to his grave.

VI. THE EVER VICTORIOUS ARMY

ON HIS trip Ward had time to think over the Chinese situation. He knew that it was a bad one. In the heat of action his one plan had been always to keep on the aggressive against the Taipings. Now he realized that sheer aggressiveness was not enough. He saw that had the Taipings known how small his force was they would have "laughed it to death" that July night at Sungkiang. But he knew that war is a blind and panicky business and that the Taipings had yielded to their own fears at Sungkiang, leaving him to enjoy the fruits of his only successful bluff. After Sungkiang Ward's bluff had not succeeded, but it had taken several defeats to convince him that he must change his plan of campaign. He needed a much bigger force, more artillery, and a fleet of steamers. The guns and the ships he could get in America and England, through his father, who was a ship's broker in New York. The men he would have to find in China.

How to find the men—that was the difficulty. The British would make it impossible for him to recruit his army in Shanghai. He could not openly oppose them. Their position in China was too strong. His former backers would not support him in any plan which would involve them in quarrels with the British officials. But, if he could

not meet the British head on, he could go around them, and he now thought out a plan for getting around the opposition of Sir James Hope and his brother officers in China.

Ward's plan for circumventing the British changed the whole course of his military career and it changed also the military history of China. It was that he would depend on China's man power for his army, going to the West only for war machines and for methods of war organization. He had come to admire the fighting spirit of the Chinese in his hand-to-hand battles with the courageous but badly armed Taipings, and he believed that properly drilled and equipped Chinese troops would give a good account of themselves against any soldiers on earth.

Early in the spring of 1861 Ward returned to China. When he arrived in Shanghai he had matured his new plan for organizing a disciplined Chinese force. His first job was to win over his former backers. The Taotai Wu, and the Banker Taki, were chary of the scheme at first, but in the end they were persuaded. Ward had a way with the Chinese. His immense popularity with them, in spite of his defeats, was a puzzle to Shanghai Europeans. They could not understand why the Chinese continued to pour out their money in support of a mere "Yankee Adventurer" when any number of British and French soldiers were offering their services.

Ward's Yankee hard-headedness appealed to the practical Chinese. And they liked him because he truly liked them. Ward obeyed the orders of his Chinese superiors with the strictest punctilio, and he respected their traditions and customs. The Chinese knew that he was an able

organizer and good leader in the field, and they knew they could trust him. So they cheerfully backed him in his new campaign against the Taipings. They persuaded the Imperial government to make him a general of irregulars with power to enlist one thousand native troops and to grant commissions to whatever officers he needed.

Ward's next job was to win over the British. This was not an easy task. In 1861 the British were even more reluctant to accept him than they had been the year before. The war of Britain and France against the Chinese Imperial government in 1860 had brought about a new situation. The Imperial court had changed its policy and had become very friendly to the European powers. In 1861, because of their friendly relations with the Imperial government, the British prepared to take a more active part in suppressing the Taipings. They had long been uneasy about their nominal neutrality in the rebellion. Sir James Hope, who was the spear point of the British power in Shanghai, had said again and again that the Taipings were nothing but "low blackguards" and an "organized band of robbers." Most of the British officials in China agreed with him and were ready to accept his idea of an aggressive anti-Taiping policy without an open declaration of war. These men did not propose to let Ward take the lead away from them in the fight against the rebels.

Sir James Hope—"Fighting Jimmie" he was called—was a man who cared little for diplomacy. He believed in shooting first and talking afterwards. When Ward appeared before him on May 19th, 1861, with a proposal that they discuss his new plan for suppressing the rebels, Sir James did not wait for any explanations. He arrested

Ward at once. Ward was taken on board the admiral's flagship, the *Chesapeake*, where he was placed in close arrest and charged with violating neutrality in organizing a force to fight the Taipings, and with enlisting British deserters.

The charge of violating neutrality was a little dubious, since all the Europeans in Shanghai, and particularly Sir James himself, had been doing that. The charge of enlisting deserters was just. Ward was confined on board the *Chesapeake* waiting trial before the American Consul in Shanghai, who, under the extra-territorial laws, had jurisdiction over all Americans in the city.

When Ward was brought before the American consul, he was charged with engaging in unlawful acts of war in defiance of the American declaration of neutrality, and with enticing British sailors and marines to desert. His defense was a surprise to his accusers. He denied the jurisdiction of the American consul on the ground that he was a Chinese subject, and he produced papers to prove it. (Ward had applied for Chinese citizenship at this time, but it does not appear that he had completed the business. He was made a Chinese citizen by the Imperial edict of May 17, 1862, which raised him to the mandarinate of the fourth class.) The American consul was forced to discharge him. Not so Admiral Hope. He made up his mind to hold Ward while he had him. Sir James was taking no chances. He took Ward back to the *Chesapeake* and kept him there a prisoner, vowing that not only would he keep him out of the war, but that he would break up his force as well. To accomplish this end he detached as large a battalion of British sailors and marines as he could muster

for service on land and sent them to Sungkiang with orders to scatter Ward's force and arrest the leaders.

Admiral "Fighting Jimmie" reckoned without Ward's aides, Colonels Forrester, Burgevine, and the daredevil Macanaya. These men were in no mood to have the British wipe out the force. Warned by the Taotai Wu that a battalion of eight hundred sailors and marines were marching upon Sungkiang, they in their turn vowed that they would give the Britishers a red-hot reception. They left Sungkiang and took up a position in a mud fort a mile east of the city, along the road on which the British were coming. They put the fort in excellent condition to repel attack.

When the British appeared and found the entrenched Wardites blocking their way, they called upon the fort to surrender. Colonel Forrester replied that he would defend the fort no matter what the consequences. He advised the British to go back where they came from. The officers of the naval battalion looked the position over, marched their men around the fort without firing a single shot, and marched back to their ships.

It was a bold move for Forrester and Burgevine to make, but they knew that Sir James was bluffing. The fact was he had not enough men to overpower Ward's force. He was a dangerous man to oppose in Shanghai with his men-of-war moored in the river, but inland it was another matter.

Ward's men now set about planning how to get their leader off the *Chesapeake*. His arrest and detention had been an arbitrary act on the part of the British, but since they held the trump card of superior military and naval

force in their hands, there was nothing to be done about it. Sir James Hope's conduct was inspired by the conquistador theory of politics which has guided all European nations in their dealings with China. The Chinese had seen in two wars what Britain was capable of, and they had no desire to challenge her in Ward's behalf.

They did not even protest Ward's detention. He was just another defeated and unfortunate soldier of whom China entertained too many in those days. It looked as if the game were up for General Ward.

Forrester, Burgevine, and Macanaya refused to believe that Admiral "Fighting Jimmie" had taken the last trick in the game they were playing. They had outbluffed the British admiral at Sungkiang, and they now proceeded to outwit him. They knew there was not the slightest chance of trial or release for Ward, and so they set about arranging his escape. They sent an officer of the force on board the *Chesapeake* to visit Ward and to take the lay of the land. The officer found Ward confined in an outside cabin of the British flagship, with a marine constantly on guard. Then and there the escape from the *Chesapeake* was planned, under the very eyes and ears of the guard. A few whispered words, interrupted by a stern "None of that!" from the guard, were enough. Ward and his officer understood each other. The officer timed his watch exactly with the chronometer in Ward's cabin, and as he left the *Chesapeake* he noted the position of the cabin in the ship.

The plan was to have a sampan drift past the ship under Ward's window at two o'clock in the morning. The openings of the *Chesapeake's* cabins were the large square windows of the old-fashioned men-of-war, and not the small

round ports of modern ships. Ward was to leap through the window at precisely two o'clock. His men would take him aboard the sampan at once and row him off through the dark. The sampan would begin its drifting past the battleship that night, and if anything prevented Ward's escape, it would drift past again the next night and the next.

Ward undressed for bed in rather a slovenly way that night. He took off his coat and shoes and socks, and jumped into his bunk with his shirt and trousers on. If his guard noticed what Ward was doing he put it down to the filthy habits of the unaccountable Yank. Ward lay in his bunk waiting for two o'clock. Just before two he sat on the edge of his bunk and lit a cheroot. As the first stroke of "four bells" rang out, Ward leaped for the window and plunged head foremost through the sash. His men were there. They heard the splash as their leader hit the water. Quickly they flashed a light, Ward swam to the boat, and was taken aboard. The splash was heard on board ship, too, and Ward's guard rushed out to give the alarm. Cries of "Man overboard!" sharp calls and commands were heard on the decks of the *Chesapeake.* Boats were lowered. But long before the *Chesapeake's* boats had touched the water Ward's sampan had disappeared in the darkness and a little later it had landed just opposite the French settlement. Here Ward lay in hiding during the day in the house of a friend while the British searched for him. The next night he was taken up the river to Sung-kiang where he found his men still holding the fort.

Shortly after his escape Ward sent word to Admiral Hope that he would still like to discuss his new plan with

him. Sir James then invited Ward and his lieutenants to a conference on board the *Chesapeake*, promising them safe conduct. They went, and in the conference Ward laid before the admiral his plan for recruiting a native Chinese army. The plan was well received by Sir James. He saw that it promised to put a stop to Ward's enlistment of British deserters. He would have preferred a British officer in command of the native force, but in the characteristic British way, he accepted an accomplished fact, and received Ward as the leader whom the Chinese had chosen. He could see nothing detrimental to British *raj* in China in allowing this Yankee adventurer, whose courage and capacity he had learned to admire, to go ahead with his plans. He may even have felt that the plan was not worth opposing, for most European officers in Shanghai ridiculed the idea that Chinese peasants could be turned into modern soldiers. On Ward's promise not to enlist any more deserters Sir James gave the plan his blessing, and winked at the fact that there were still a number of British deserters employed as drillmasters at Sungkiang.

With all these troubles it was late in the summer of 1861 before Ward began to recruit his new army. Once he had started he lost no time. His post at Sungkiang became the first military school in China where native troops were taught European methods of warfare. Forrester and Burgevine had kept the nucleus of the army in good shape. Ward now weeded out his old force, retaining only the men who made good drillmasters and officers. He discharged the others. To his officers and drillmasters he gave commissions, and from the best of his Chinese troops he picked his non-commissioned officers. He recruited the

Manilamen to their former strength of two hundred men, and kept them as his bodyguard under the command of Vicente Macanaya.

Most of the recruits were Kiangsu men who are known as an easy race and amenable to discipline. They proved themselves apt students in the Western school of arms. Only simple maneuvers were attempted at first, and speed was valued more than accurate dressing. The men were taught to come into line quickly. After a little training they learned their drill thoroughly, became fairly good marksmen, and knew how to handle and care for their English muskets and Prussian rifles. Commands were given in English. The Chinese readily learned these commands, and the bugle calls. Artillery practice baffled them at first, but after some instruction they made rapid progress in it and before they were ready to take the field many of them had become expert gunners. The practice of the artillery in breaching fortifications and in covering storming parties soon became very good, according to impartial observers.

The whole force was well-clad and well-equipped. It wore a uniform something like that of the Zouaves or the British Sikhs. Because of their uniform Ward's men were called "the false foreign devils." The winter uniform consisted of a jacket and knickerbockers of one color for each branch of the service: dark blue for the Manilamen; light blue for the artillery, with broad red stripes on the knickerbockers; light green for the infantry, with facings and shoulder straps in red and green. All ranks wore green turbans. The summer uniform for the whole

force was white knickerbockers and white jackets with red facings.

Ward from the first impressed his Chinese levies with the strictness of European discipline, and the severe penalties which would follow insubordination, disobedience to order, sleeping on post, or taking bribes to let prisoners escape. He tried out the mettle and discipline of the force in a number of light skirmishes with the enemy before he actively took the field. In one of these skirmishes he showed his men what discipline on the field of battle really meant.

A rebel flotilla, laden with plunder taken near Hangchow, suddenly found itself ice-bound in one of the water courses of Kiangsu. The rebels quickly threw up a stockade which they imagined made them secure from attack. Ward surprised them in their stockade and took them without much trouble. Many of the rebels were shot or drowned, and orders were given to burn the plunder-laden boats. It was usual when Ward's force or the Imperialist army went out on expeditions against the rebels, for Kiangsu villagers to follow them on the march. The villagers were usually armed with knife-pointed bamboo poles. Headed by the chief personages of their villages, these spearmen would follow the army at a distance. After the defeat of the enemy they would come in at the death for the looting.

On this expedition the head of the villagers was a man of rank, as shown by the blue mandarin button on his hat. When the stockades were taken the mandarin rushed forward to loot, and refused to quit when orders were given to burn the flotilla. Ward told him to stop on the instant,

and ordered a soldier to shoot him if he did not. The mandarin did not stop. The soldier first raised his gun, then dropped it in dismay, refusing to shoot. The blue-buttoned mandarin was doing merely what the soldier wanted very much to do, and also, the shooting of an official of the Imperial government was something like parricide. Colonel Edward Forrester, at Ward's order, then drew his revolver and shot the mandarin. The moral effect of that shooting on the Chinese force was worth more than the shooting of a squad of privates.

The Chinese made very steady and orderly soldiers. Drunkenness was almost unknown among the privates and so the military police rarely had much to do, except after the capture of a city when the desire for loot was a temptation to absence from the ranks. For such things the Chinese punishment of flogging with the bamboo was inflicted. There were few breaches of discipline and very little crime in the force, consequently the bamboo was seldom called for.

Ward's army made such good progress that the British authorities at Shanghai became alarmed once more. The officers who had laughed at Ward's belief in the military possibilities of Chinese peasants saw they had made a mistake. There was further talk of having Ward's army disbanded. While this agitation was going on Admiral Hope visited Sungkiang. To his amazement he saw Chinese troops in uniforms that closely resembled those of the troops of Europe, and who showed themselves expert in the use of European drill and European arms. "Fighting Jimmy" was impressed, and he reported favorably on Ward's activities. He was shrewd enough to see that

through alliance with Ward's force the British could unofficially support the Imperialists without raising questions of international polity which might later prove embarrassing. The British then agreed to let Ward alone, insisting only that his force be kept small. Admiral Hope became a friend and ally of Ward's, helped him with his supply of arms, artillery, and ammunition, and backed him up in his campaign for the defense of Shanghai.

In the fall of 1861 Ward had an army of one thousand men. He had also a good park of cannon. Lack of artillery had been one of his weak points heretofore. Through his father and brother he had got two batteries of field pieces and a supply of ammunition. He had also bought a few cannon in Shanghai. Henceforth he was not dependent on the two or three antiquated cannon with which he had formerly gone into action. Through Sir James Hope he bought some Tower muskets and ammunition from the British arsenal at Hong Kong. He had now achieved the four things he needed, a disciplined force with the right kind of equipment, adequate artillery, steamers, and cooperation of the British with his force. In the late fall of 1861, he was ready to move against the enemy. This move had become imperative, for the Taipings were massing for a drive on Shanghai.

The friendship and coöperation of the British promised well for Ward's new army in its first campaign against the Taipings. But before Ward could launch the campaign, the *Trent* affair had so inflamed Americans and British in China that they were ready to do battle with each other. The United States man-of-war, *San Jacinto*, had on November 8th, 1861, intercepted the British mail

steamer *Trent*, bound from Havana for Southampton, and had taken off against the protest of the *Trent's* captain, two Confederate commissioners, James M. Mason and John Slidell. The incident brought the United States and Britain to the brink of war. In Shanghai Britishers and Americans prepared for the worst. It was even said that the British planned to seize American shipping and other property in the treaty ports, and that Ward had effected a secret organization to surprise and capture every British ship in Shanghai waters.

Augustus Allen Hayes has given an account of these plots and counterplots in which Ward was the chief American actor. Said Hayes:

"In the month of January, 1862, a piece of news fell upon the community like a thunder-bolt. It may be imagined in what shape the story of the Trent affair would be given by an English newspaper ardently devoted to the Southern cause. It was just such an account which the American residents saw displayed in large type as they opened the 'Straits Times' brought by the incoming mail. It was a heavy blow indeed to the little band of exiles, for war with England appeared perfectly inevitable; and under the best of circumstances their position was a very precarious one. The statement now about to be made in regard to the immediately formed purpose of the British is so extraordinary that one should not presume to print it, were it not derived from the lips of unimpeachable consular and naval authorities of that nation. It was at once determined by them that the neutrality of this great and practically cosmopolitan port should not be in the least regarded, but that, immediately upon the arrival of the

expected declaration of war, American property in and about Shanghai should be seized and destroyed, or confiscated. Probably a more high-hand and lawless determination was never conceived; but unfortunately it is historical, and, it is believed, is now for the first time made public. It is known to but few, and it was known to fewer at the time. While in ignorance of it, the Americans, or a part of them, had made up their minds to a course of action.

"There arrived just at this time from New York a new, large, and powerful steamer called 'Poyang.' She was commanded by Captain George Briggs, and was intended for local trade. In the expectation that she might encounter Confederate cruisers on the voyage out, she had been provided with four large cannon, two of them rifled, an efficient stand of small-arms, and a letter-of-marque. The Jacksonian motto that 'desperate courage makes one a majority' is as true of the American as of any created being. The Spaniard, the Apache Indian, the Malay pirate, is by no means as coolly desperate and determined a creature as some sober, God-fearing, New England seafaring man who sees his employers' interests—and perhaps his own little share in the vessel, purchased by his hard earnings—in peril. By such a class of men, with the utmost celerity, a plan was conceived and a compact formulated. It was decided to borrow the 'Poyang.' Not a British man-of-war in the Eastern seas could steam within several knots of her, or possessed a piece of ordnance, with a range approaching that of her rifled guns. A commander was at hand who knew every port in Japan, including those where coal was to be had, and not yet opened to commerce. Among the motley crew of soldiers of fortune at-

tracted to China in the hope of employment in the war with the Taiping rebels, were found a dozen experienced gunners. With them and a small crew, the 'Poyang' was to steam rapidly out of the harbor and up to the Ochotsk sea, where three hundred men were to be picked from the American whalers there cruising, and taken on board. Within a few weeks, every British mail steamer with her treasure, every richly-laden clipper ship, and indeed more than one man-of-war would have been at her mercy; and it is altogether safe to say that the doings of the 'Alabama' or the 'Shenandoah' would have been a child's story compared to those of the 'Poyang.' It is as certain as death that this plan would have been carried out, had the next mail steamer brought the news of a declaration of war being certain. This plan was made, be it remembered, without any general knowledge of the intentions of the English just mentioned, and as a contribution of the American exile band to their country's cause.

"As the English have a large import trade which the Americans have not, their material possessions in and about Shanghai were very much greater than those of the latter. . . . Ward was well aware of this; and he determined to mass, quietly and secretly as he could easily do, a large body of his disciplined troops at a town some twenty miles distant, from which a forced march could readily be made without any warning. Entirely under his control was a guild of what one might politely call privateers, or junks manned by desperadoes of a piratical class thoroughly armed. A large body of these privateers he proposed ordering into the river before the settlement, and distributing among the few naval and many merchant

vessels flying the British flag. On board such junks is carried a fearful engine of destruction known by a name unmentionable to ears polite. It is a species of hand grenade of earthenware, easily broken, and filled with a composition not only possessing the destructive qualities of Greek fire, but capable of suffocating those among whom it strikes. It is this which places any vessel, however heavily armed, in a dangerous position when at anything like close quarters with a Chinese pirate. On the day, grimly said General Ward, on which his British friends should begin the seizure of the property of Americans, the latter would have warning from him of what was to happen during the ensuing night. Of such happenings it was needful for him to enter into but few details. . . . To any one who should read this statement, and pronounce it overstrained or fanciful, I would simply remark that the reader did not know General Ward."

This may have been no more than gossip, but for a time coöperation between Ward and the British was out of the question. Ward, although he had applied for Chinese citizenship, was a strong Federal partisan. In a letter which he wrote about this time to Anson Burlingame, United States Minister to China, he offered a contribution of $15,000 to the Union cause. The situation between British and Americans in China was tense for two or three weeks until news came that the Confederate commissioners had been released and that the United States had apologized.

Another event which occurred toward the close of 1861 might have had serious consequences for Ward's new force. This was the Tsai Yuan Conspiracy after the death of the Emperor Hien Fung, which was to have put Prince

I, Prince Tuan Hua, and the Imperial Clansman Su Chun at the helm of the Flowery Kingdom. They had got the Emperor, before his death, to sign decrees appointing them regents for the child Emperor, Tung Chih, and excluding Tung Chih's mother, Yehonala, from any control over the heir to the throne. The murder of Yehonala and of all the foreigners in Peking was part of the conspirators' plan. Had their scheme been successful there would have been another war of the powers against China and Ward's career as a Chinese general would have ended almost as soon as it began. But the conspirators were thwarted by Yehonala, aided by Prince Kung, brother of the deceased Emperor, and Jung Lu, a kinsman of Yehonala's. In the famous *coup d'etat* of November 2, 1861, these three forced out the conspirators and put Yehonala, who became the Dowager Empress Tzu Hsi, and the Dowager Empress Tsi An, in their places as regents. Tzu Hsi—"the old Buddha"—dominated this combination, and for a half century she was the real power behind the Dragon Throne. It was the reign of the "Old Buddha," the "Motherly Auspicious Orthodox Heaven-Blest Prosperous All-Nourishing Brightly-Manifest Calm Sedate Perfect Long-lived Respectful Reverend Worshipful Illustrious Exalted Empress Dowager," which Ward now sought to preserve from the attacks of the Taiping rebels.

By the second week of January, 1862, the Taiping advance guards were nibbling at Shanghai. The main army of the Loyal King was on the march toward the coast, and its approach was heralded by columns of Imperialist soldiers in headlong flight. Rebel scouts had attacked Im-

THE OLD BUDDHA

Portrait of the Dowager Empress painted from life by Miss Catharine A. Carl for the St. Louis Exposition, and now the property of the American Nation.

perialist stockades near Shanghai, and had even appeared before Ward's headquarters city, Sungkiang.

In the first week of February, Ward with a thousand of his disciplined Chinese troops and two hundred Manilamen, supported by two thousand of Li Ai-tang's Imperial Braves went into action against the rebels in a series of stockaded camps at Kwanfuling, west of Shanghai. His force had a battery of nine field pieces. The stockades were first shelled by the artillery, and then Ward ordered his Chinese troops forward with fixed bayonets. The enemy fled in panic before these "false foreign devils." From six to ten thousand of the Taipings were easily dislodged from their stockades, and sent flying towards Tsingpu. Eight hundred were taken prisoners. The troops of Li Ai-tang did not come into action but brought up the rear. This was the first real fight of Ward's disciplined Chinese, and they fully came up to their leader's expectations. Their behavior in battle amazed Chinese and Europeans alike. They were steady under fire, obeyed orders without flinching in the face of the enemy, and charged with fine spirit.

The *North China Herald* of February 7th, 1862, reported a new thing in China. It said that a Taiping force estimated at thirty thousand was defeated near Shanghai by the "bravery and discipline of the Imperial troops commanded by Colonel Ward, who has trained a regiment of fine, able-bodied men in the European system of military tactics."

This victory of Kwanfuling immediately established Ward's reputation with his backers and with the European officers. From this time forward his force was the

backbone of the Imperial army around Shanghai, and was associated in action with the battalions of Admiral Sir James Hope and the French Admiral Protet.

Ward's coolness under fire at Kwanfuling won the admiration of the British. He had sauntered about the field, smoking a Manila cheroot, while the artillery was reducing the stockades, inspiring his men with his nonchalant courage. In the bayonet charge he led the way, motioning his men forward with the rattan stick which was the only weapon he carried in battle. This stick was a "prop" which Ward used with such good effect that Chinese Gordon later adopted it as his own. Ward carried no sword or side arms. He wore a dark-blue frock coat of the Prince Albert type, tightly buttoned, and a cape of dark material. Those who knew Ward described him as a man of medium height and slight build, quick and wiry, and with the strength of an athlete. His forehead was broad, his eyes dark and piercing, his nose acquiline, his mouth firm. His thick black hair hung over his shoulders. Ward was a strange figure on the field of battle, a figure which in time assumed legendary proportions to his men. They believed that he could not be killed by mortal man.

Ward now had one regiment of disciplined soldiers in good military shape. He had another regiment drilling, and was recruiting a third. His men were kept busy with the Taipings, for they were pressing in on all sides. Ward kept several flying columns in the field around Shanghai, striking the enemy now here, now there, continually harrying their lines of communication. On February 15th, 1862, the Taiping army made an attempt upon Shanghai, but was repulsed by the guns of Ward and the Anglo-

French allies and withdrew. This rebel withdrawal from Shanghai was no more than a temporary retirement, however. The Taipings were in Kiangsu in great force under the Loyal King, who was determined to take Shanghai at any cost.

On February 21st, 1862, Ward felt that he was strong enough to make a forward movement against the rebels, and he advanced upon Kaochiao (High Bridge) a walled town which occupied an important position on the Putung peninsula opposite Shanghai, and to the north. Ward's force was taken in gunboats to the mouth of the Kaochiao creek, which was palisaded. A few shells from the fleet drove the Taipings back from the creek to a stockade near the town. Coffins emptied of their contents and filled with earth, and trunks of trees had been placed in the path of Ward's advance by the retreating rebels. Ward's Chinese force of 1500 men was supported by 700 French and British on the left and right flanks. The force had seven guns which were brought forward over ditches and other obstructions on portable bridges. The artillery first opened fire and then a bayonet charge was ordered.

Ward led the way, swinging his rattan stick and smoking his inevitable cheroot. His men dashed over all obstructions and swept the enemy before them like chaff. "Our advance was met," says Colonel Edward Forrester, "by a body of five thousand rebels, who had taken up a position about a mile from the city, where a strong stockade had been constructed. It was a foolish maneuver. Our assaulting column of fifteen hundred disciplined Chinese swept down on them with unhesitating bravery. So violent was the charge that we not only carried the stock-

ade, but, after some fierce fighting, drove the enemy panic-stricken along the causeway leading to the city. . . . There was a mile stretch of causeway from the stockade to the city, and this was turned into a slaughter pen. The enemy were packed in it so closely, and we were at such short range, that our fire did terrible execution. So demoralized were the rebels that no attempt was made to resist when we reached the gates . . . the rout was complete. Not only was the enemy in wild retreat, but their panic had spread through the entire army. At the South Gate they fell over each other in a frantic desire to escape. But once outside only the shores of the Yellow Sea awaited them, and upon its sands Death stood with open arms. Our handful of men pressed them so fiercely that the rebels had no time to take to their boats. In despair they leaped into the water to be drowned by wholesale.

"A Hong-Kong steamer was passing during the enactment of this appalling scene, and among the passengers was the Hon. George Frederick Seward, subsequently for many years United States Minister to China, but just then entering upon his duties. The sight that met his eyes was a ghastly welcome to his future home. The number drowned was estimated at ten thousand. Many of the victims were so wounded they could not swim; others were trampled upon in the rush, and still others were too panic stricken to make any effort to save their lives. It was a frightful day—that yelling, struggling mass of humanity going to its death made a sight that was saddening even in the wild exhilaration of battle. For days afterward the shore was strewn with corpses."

Of the 10,000 or more rebels who made up the force

at Kaochiao, several hundred were taken prisoner and given over to the Shanghai authorities. On the following day Commissary Ashley of Ward's force discovered that they were being executed wholesale on the parade ground at Shanghai. He hastened to tell Ward, whose protest made the Imperialist officers stop the butchery.

Ward's Chinese did most of the fighting at Kaochiao, and lost seven men killed and thirty wounded. The Anglo-French allies had one killed and three wounded. But though the Anglo-French contingent did little in the battle its coöperation with Ward was of the greatest significance for him. The French and British officers, who a few months before had called him "filibuster," and "buccaneer," were now glad to accept him as an ally. It meant that he had achieved respectability as a military leader.

On February 27th, with a force of twelve hundred of his own men, reënforced by the sailors and marines of Admirals Hope and Protet, Ward moved from Sungkiang toward Minhang. The next day after a southward march from Minhang, he struck the enemy at Hsiaotang. The city had been strongly fortified. Ward's first attack met with such determined opposition that he was forced to retire. The next day the attack was renewed.

The defenses of the city were found to be very strong. There was an outer barricade built of the débris of wrecked houses. Then came a field sown with sharp stakes driven into the ground. Behind this was a trench seven feet deep with steep sides studded with sharp bamboo spikes. Then came another field sown with stakes, a second ditch which was like the first, and then an earthwork fifteen feet high surmounted by barricades made of boxes

filled with earth and stone, coffins, bags of cotton, sand-bags, and furniture. It was a place that could not be stormed without the loss of a great many men unless the way were first opened by artillery.

Ward's skirmishers crept up close to the earthwork and began exchanging shots with the enemy. As the skirmishers advanced, the rebels were so quiet it was thought most of them had fled during the night. When the artillery opened up and Ward's main force swung into action supported by five hundred men of the Anglo-French allies, the rebels suddenly blazed at them with small cannon, gingalls, and musketry. For an hour the rebels kept up a hot fire in reply to Ward's cannonade, but then the fire slackened and Ward ordered a bayonet charge.

The rebels were driven from the barricades, but they rallied in the village itself and made a desperate stand, yielding only after a fierce hand to hand battle. Between six and seven hundred rebels were killed and three hundred taken prisoner. Among the dead were two French deserters who had joined the Taipings.

Ward's force bore the brunt of this action and it behaved with great gallantry. The North China *Herald* said that Ward's men "seemed to know no fear." The force had ten killed and forty wounded. Burgevine had a bad abdominal wound. The Anglo-French allies were not in the heat of the action and had only two wounded.

Ward won high honors after Hsiaotang. The governor of Kiangsu, in a memorial to the throne, praised the gallantry of Ward and his men, and in a highly eulogistic decree the boy Emperor, Tung Chih, conferred upon Ward the title of General, and upon his force the high-

sounding name of *Chang-sheng-chun*, Ever Victorious Army. By this name it was ever afterward known. Ward was made a general of provincial troops and a mandarin of the fourth class with an opaque blue button and a tiger embroidered on his *pusa*, or badge of official rank. Later he became a major-general and because of his ownership of several armored steamers, an admiral as well, and was raised to the third class of mandarins with the peacock's feather for distinguished military achievement.

While Ward was winning honors in his campaign against the rebels he was also engaged in a campaign of a different kind. This was no less than a suit for the hand of Chang Mei, the daughter of the banker Taki. Ward had gained a curious ascendancy over this avaricious Chinese genius. Taki from the beginning had been amorous of the money which supported Ward's force, but though a good deal of the money stuck to his fingers, he never failed with the pay during Ward's time. Later other leaders of the force had a great deal of trouble with him.

Taki thought the eagle-eyed Ward a great man indeed, and one who appreciated things Chinese. A Chinese writer, commenting on the suppression of the Taiping rebellion says that "Ward was, as if by magic, apparently intended by nature, nativity and art to deal with and control the foreigners and natives who formed the officers, rank and file of the contingent, as well as the Chinese superiors he had to deal with. It is no secret that Taki would no more attempt to withhold the contingent's pay in Ward's days than he would jump into the Huangpu. Taki would be down on his bare knees at one of Ward's angry shouts,

knocking his head against his (Ward's) feet, and at the same time assenting to everything."

This Taki was a character. An odd story of him is related by the Reverend Daniel J. Macgowan, a missionary who was in China in the 1860's. It involves one of Taki's wives, though probably not the future mother-in-law of Ward. Says Macgowan:

"Not long anterior to the time (1860) when this history commences, a Chinese Barnum brought two beautiful young women to Shanghai, who had been selected and purchased when children, on account of their transcendant charms. They proved to be endowed with great wit and intelligence; so they were educated with a view to public exhibition. One was remarkably agile, and became proficient as an acrobat. She excelled also in fencing, in posture making, and in playing the guitar. The other was witty, inclined to letters. She was made to study the art of making riddles, of shining in conversation, and to be prompt in humorous repartee. The former attracted the plebs, the latter the patricians, of the cities that were visited; and between them, the showman acquired a good return for his investment. But the girls became too clever for their owner; and his position became unendurable. A single yoke he might have borne; but a brace was too much for him; and he sold them. The athlete brought 3,000 taels; the purchaser being the district magistrate, who in virtue of his official position, was allowed to possess her at a low figure. The *spirituelle* brought a much larger sum, in virtue of the great wealth of the buyer, Taki, who became the financial agent of the Ever Conquering Legion. What to the showman was intolerable—

the determination of the damsels to rule—was highly appreciated by their new lords. Mrs. Taki, as she is styled by foreigners, had not a little to do with the *petit coup*, which at a subsequent period set Chinese governors and cabinet ministers at variance with foreign ambassadors and generals." (Mr. Macgowan does not explain the nature of this coup, but it probably had to do with Burgevine's dismissal. See chapter nine.)

"The other lady led a life that well accorded with her peculiar genius. Mrs. Leo, as we must call her, assumed the position of squire to her lord, who, although a civil officer, had a martial mind; and took part in all the battles and skirmishes that occurred within the limits of the district of Shanghai. Well armed, and attired as a man, she bestrode a pony whenever her husband followed Ward in pursuit of the rebels. Nor did Leo always wait for the company of his companion-in-arms and fellow saint (they have both been canonized) but he ranged the country and won laurels, sometimes on his own account, always accompanied by his valiant and devoted concubine."

Ward's campaign for the hand of Chang Mei was successful. Some said indeed that the whole affair was arranged by Taki, who had decided that a man like Ward would be a mighty fine son-in-law. The marriage was solemnized in the ancient Chinese style, though many of the formalities of a Chinese betrothal and wedding were relaxed for Ward because he was a foreigner, and also because his parents were not in China. Through a go-between, Ward presented his card to the family of Chang Mei, stating his ancestral name and the hour, day, month,

and year of his birth. Chang Mei's parents then consulted an astrologer to find out whether the union between their daughter and Ward would be fitting and auspicious. Taki saw to it that the astrologer's decision was favorable. Chang Mei's card, giving her ancestral name and the exact time of her birth, was then sent to Ward. In his turn Ward consulted an astrologer and learned that the stars were propitious. The astrologer set the day of the wedding.

During these negotiations Ward sent many gifts to Chang Mei's family, including several wild geese, a cock and a hen, money, material for the bride's dress, five kinds of dried fruit, wedding cakes, and jars of wine. On the wedding day Ward sent to the bride's house a red marriage sedan-chair decorated with rich carving and kingfisher-feather inlay. For days before the wedding ceremony the future Mrs. Ward wept and wept, not because she felt like weeping, but because it was expected of her. On the wedding day, Chang Mei, with her hair elaborately dressed, and wearing her red bridal robes and veil, bowed before the altar of her ancestors, was locked in the sedan-chair and carried to Ward's house escorted by a procession of musicians and other attendants. At the house the bridesman handed Ward a key. Ward unlocked the sedan-chair, and his bride was carried over the threshold of her new home.

Chang Mei, like all dutiful Chinese brides, expected to pay homage to her husband's ancestors and she found it strange that he had no ancestral altar in the house. She decided, however, that her foreign husband did not look un-Chinese, for he was dark as a son of Han, and he wore

his Chinese robes and the insignia of his rank for the wedding ceremony. The festivities lasted two days. Then Mrs. Ward did up her hair like a married woman and took up the duties of her new household. The young couple made their home in a house in the French concession. This house had been given to Ward by the French who were his great friends and admirers.

During March the Shanghai sector was fairly quiet. Ward and his Chinese wife had a honeymoon that might have lasted a full month had not Ward's slow moving comrade-in-arms, Li Ai-tang, got himself into trouble. Li had gone out on an expedition of his own, and had been trapped in Szeking, by a rebel force from Tsingpu. Ward went to Li's rescue in the middle of March with two regiments and a battery of twelve guns. The Ever Victorious Army outflanked the Taipings by coming between them and their base at Tsingpu. The rebels made a fierce stand, but they could not hold out against Ward's superior discipline, arms and artillery. They were scattered in all directions by the Ever Victorious Army. Li Ai-tang was none too grateful for the rescue. In his report to the Emperor he took full credit to himself for the rebel rout at Szeking because his troops had made a sortie when Ward's men attacked. He did not mention Ward's name in the report.

By the end of March rebel troops were everywhere around Shanghai. The Loyal King was fighting desperately for the possession of the coast towns of Kiangsu. It became necessary to take strong measures for the defense of Shanghai and in a conference between Ward and the French and British leaders, an intensive campaign to clear

the rebels out of the Shanghai district was agreed upon. The campaign, so far as the Anglo-French allies were concerned, was to be confined to a zone within thirty miles of Shanghai, on a line extending from the Yangtze River to Hangchow Bay. To clear the Taipings out of the thirty-mile zone it was necessary to capture Kiating northwest

The scene of Ward's military operations in the Shanghai sector. Compare with right hand map on end-papers.

of Shanghai, Nansiang, Wang-Kiatze and Tsingpu, west; and Nanchiao, Cholin, and Tsipao, all to the south. The battle of Kaochiao had cleared the region north of Shanghai. For the thirty mile zone campaign the British brought down from Tientsin the regiments which had been occupying the city since the war with the Imperial government in 1860. These regiments were commanded by General Stavely who had succeeded Sir John Michel as commander

of Her Majesty's land forces in China. With General Stavely there came to Shanghai an engineer officer, Captain Charles George Gordon, later to be known to fame as "Chinese" Gordon and "Gordon of Khartoum." The British supported Ward with eight hundred Indian troops and five hundred English in the thirty-mile zone campaign. The French had seven hundred marines under Admiral Protet.

In the first week of April, Ward and the Anglo-French allies made the opening move in the campaign. Their first objective was Wang-Kiatze, about twelve miles west of Shanghai, which had been headquarters for rebel raiding parties.

On April 4th, they attacked the rebels in their stockades near Wang-Kiatze. The Taipings abandoned the stockades at the first charge, and retreated to another series of stockades at Wang-Kiatze itself. What Ward and the allies had taken to be one large encampment turned out to be a cluster of stockades. Colonel Forrester, with five hundred of Ward's men, was detached from the main force to follow the rebels and prevent their working around toward Shanghai. He charged their stockades three times, and was repulsed with a loss of seven killed and forty-four wounded. His failure was due to the fact that he had no artillery to cover his storming parties. The stockades were surrounded with barricades made of the timber of ruined houses, furniture, coffins, and rocks, and were filled in with mud. The barricades were not easy to scale and nearly all of them were protected with ditches. Artillery was necessary in storming these places, but to have taken artillery would have delayed Forrester in his

pursuit of the rebels, for the terrain over which he had to pass was muddy and criss-crossed with ditches and canals.

The main army, under General Ward and Admirals Hope and Protet came up next day with the artillery. They executed a flanking movement and pinned the rebels in their stockades. The guns opened fire at three hundred yards. Two companies of Ward's men were thrown out in skirmishing order on the right, and they advanced under cover of graves and mounds toward the stockades. "Ward's men pushed on beautifully," says an eye witness of the battle, "and in excellent order from cover to cover; while the rebels, notwithstanding the heavy pounding of the artillery, kept up a brisk fire upon them, by which five men were killed and two officers and seven men wounded. Having stolen up to within a hundred yards, Ward's men made a most gallant rush—cheering in the English manner—causing the rebels to abandon their outworks. The entire allied force then moved forward when the whole mass of Taipings fled from all their defences without firing a shot."

Ward's men did fearful execution in the Wang-Kiatze stockades. Those of the rebels who were not bayonetted or shot were forced into the canal and drowned. Few got away. The Imperial Braves did not actively participate in the battle but they did a bit of head-hunting when it was over. A correspondent of the *North-China Herald* "met some Imperialists carrying heads of Taipings to their camp, one man having fifteen strung up by the hair." Burgevine, who had recovered from the wound he got at Hsiaotang was wounded again in the attack on Wang-

Kiatze, this time slightly. Admiral Hope was wounded in the leg, and was carried off the field to his ship.

The rebels who got away at Wang-Kiatze fled toward Tsipao where they had strongly entrenched camps. On April 17th, Ward and the allies assaulted Tsipao. The army was twenty-five hundred strong and had fourteen guns, which were worked with terrific effect at five hundred yards. The Taipings returned the fire with matchlocks and gingalls, but did no harm to the attacking force. Breaches were quickly made in the stockades, and then Ward's men charged, driving out the garrison with the bayonet. According to contemporary accounts of this battle, it turned into an orgy of looting. Tsipao had been permanently garrisoned by the Taipings and was well stocked with provisions. Rich booty fell into the hands of Ward's Chinese and their European allies. They gutted Tsipao thoroughly. When the city was turned over to the Imperial Braves of Li Ai-tang, they complained angrily that there was nothing for them to steal in the whole place.

Tsipao was described as "a luxurious camp for the Chinese, well stocked with provisions, quarters comfortably furnished, etc.—and the appearance of fresh works in progress built of stone and bricks, showed that they had the intention of remaining there permanently. On entering the quarters of their chiefs, it was evident that they did not dream of serious attack that day, as their dinners were found smoking on the tables, with the tea yet warm in the cups. . . . As the houses were ransacked, great quantities of valuable jewels, gold, silver, and costly dresses were found, which was fair loot for the officers

and men. One blue-jacket found 1600 dollars, and several soldiers upwards of 500 each, while many picked up gold bangles, earrings, and other ornaments set with pearls and other precious stones. It was a glorious day of looting for everybody, and we hear that one party, who discovered the Taiping treasure chest with several thousand dollars in it, after loading himself to his heart's content, was obliged to give some away to lighten his pockets, which were heavier than he could well bear. The rebel stud of ponies was well supplied also, and many of the soldiers rode back with their booty."

The battles of Wang-Kiatze and Tsipao were to have cleared the vicinity immediately south and west of Shanghai of rebels, but no sooner had Ward and the allies taken Tsipao than the quick-silver Taipings flowed back into Wang-Kiatze. Then a courier arrived from Sungkiang with the news that Ward's headquarters city had been invested by a strong Taiping army. Ward had to be on the move for Sungkiang at once. Directly in the path of his march was Wang-Kiatze with its stockades, and these he had to retake. So bitterly did the Taipings oppose Ward's disciplined Chinese that they were reduced to less than a thousand men.

"Even of this number," says Colonel Forrester, "many were suffering from severe wounds. I had been struck in the chest by a bullet that passed through and out above the shoulder blade, and I found the march a trying one. We suffered not only from hunger, fatigue, and wounds, but were constantly harassed by the enemy. So demoralized did we appear, that, when we reached our comrades, they thought we had been defeated and were flying."

—*Courtesy Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.*

CHANG-MEI
Ward's Chinese wife.

The Taiping threat against Sungkiang was not serious, Ward found, but he spent the next two weeks reorganizing his force, which had lost many men in the fierce battles around Wang-Kiatze. By the last week in April he was ready for the field again, and with the Anglo-French allies he moved against Kiating, northwest of Shanghai. By their occupation of Kiating, the rebels were able to command the Yangtze. They had a strongly fortified post at the mouth of the creek that connected Kiating with the great river. Ward and Taki chartered four armed steamers for the expedition. Ward's force was divided into three battalions, one under Colonel Forrester, who was still weak from the wound he got at Wang-Kiatze, a second under a Major Morton, and the third under a Major Burns. The artillery consisted of a dozen American twelve-pounder howitzers, under the command of an artillerist named Major Glasgow. In all, Ward's force numbered 2,500 men. The allies mustered 2,000 men to support him. With them was an army of Imperial Braves under the command of Li Han-chang, brother of Li Hung-chang. The troops and stores were transported by armored steamers and a flotilla of Chinese gunboats.

The expedition steamed up Soochow creek toward Kiating on April 29th, and attacked the rebels in an entrenched camp near Nansiang, driving them back upon Kiating. On May 1st, the allies appeared before Kiating, just before dawn, and began an artillery bombardment at once. After a cannonade a bridge of boats was formed for the storming party, and a charge was ordered. According to an eye-witness: "The scene was now most picturesque. A shell had set fire to part of the city close at hand.

The early morning sun was shining pleasantly upon the fields, rich with ungathered crops. The French band played as the troops scaled the walls."

There was a race between the English, French, and Chinese to be the first to plant colors on the walls. Ward's Chinese won. The Taipings stood their ground and made a savage fight of it on the walls before they were beaten. The allies lost few men in the action, but the Taiping casualties were heavy. Five hundred rebels were killed in the city itself, and two thousand more lost their lives in trying to break through the cordon which the Imperial Braves under Li Han-chang had thrown around the city.

An immense quantity of loot, consisting of silver, precious stones and fine clothing, was found in Kiating. The British said that most of the looting was done by the French: "Who seemed to be in the very best humour that day, for they carried off everything that could be got away. It was a romantic sight to see the soldiery leaving the city, followed by bullocks, sheep, goats, boys, and women—all considered as loot. One scene especially took our attention, a soldier of the Fifth French Regiment d'Afrique, dragging a donkey saddled in the Chinese way, loaded down with bundles of clothing and a young Chinese lady with small feet riding on the same donkey. In fact the French troops showed a bad example to the new Chinese levies, committing all sorts of cruelties which were laid to Ward's force."

It is not probable that the French were the only troops who looted at Kiating. At Shanghai in 1842, according to the statements of British officers, the soldiers of Lieutenant-General Sir Hugh Gough made short work of a

Shanghai temple in which they were quartered, even tearing out the most exquisite carvings to use as firewood. Another detachment, quartered in the establishment of a Chinese pawnbroker, stole his treasure of gold and silver and fine clothes. The British soldiers strutted about in the pawnbroker's furs and silks, and did a rushing business selling loot to natives over the Shanghai city walls.

European soldiers in the Far East have usually accepted looting as the "custom of the country." Even "Chinese" Gordon accepted it. He wrote, in 1860, to his mother, describing the looting of the Summer Palace in Peking by the French and British: "The General ordered it [the Summer Palace, a beautiful structure embodying features of both European and Chinese art] to be destroyed. We accordingly went out and, after pillaging it, burned the whole place, destroying in a vandal-like manner most valuable property, which could not be replaced for four millions. We got upwards of forty-eight pounds a piece prize-money before we went out here; and, although I have not as much as many I have done well. I think the grandees hate us, as they must after what we did to the palace. You can scarcely imagine the beauty and magnificence of the places we burnt. It made one's heart sore to burn them; in fact these palaces were so large, and we were so pressed for time, that we could not plunder them carefully. . . . Everybody was wild for plunder."

This in a letter from the revered Gordon to his mother indicates what must have been the attitude of the average officer and soldier towards looting.

Kiating was garrisoned by four hundred men of the Anglo-French contingent. Later these were reënforced

by the army of General Li Ai-tang. Ward's men, who returned to Sungkiang, were "sulky and insubordinate, through not being allowed to plunder. What booty some of them managed to get," said one of Ward's officers, "was taken from them by the British provost sergeants."

The Ever Victorious Army returned from Kiating to Sungkiang. The main body of Anglo-French allies went

A Chinese artist's conception of the chief interest of European soldiers—loot.

back to Shanghai. Both forces prepared for an expedition against Tsingpu, before which Ward had fought so many bloody battles.

The Ever Victorious Army now had new equipment which Ward had bought from the British government, including a thousand Enfield rifles for a rifle regiment which was being drilled. Before the attack on Tsingpu, Ward got an order to send five hundred of his men at

once to Ningpo, where they were urgently needed. Thus reduced, Ward marched to Kwanfuling, where he met his British and French allies. The whole force then marched on Tsingpu, which was said to be garrisoned by twenty thousand rebel troops.

The attack was to begin on the morning of May 12th. Ward had in this action two thousand men, and a park of artillery consisting of thirty-five guns. The guns were mounted on a fleet of small side-wheel steamers. A French gunboat of light draught carrying a rifled sixty-four-pounder accompanied the force. The Ever Victorious Army was in position by four o'clock in the morning, with its guns pointed, ready for the bombardment. Seven thousand Imperial Braves were sent around to the north and west sides of the city to cut off the rebel retreat.

The Ever Victorious Army lay under the cover of shallow trenches for nearly an hour, waiting for the dawn. Just at dawn, the Taipings discovered the besieger's position, and opened fire on them with gingalls and muskets, which did little damage. At the same moment, the allies opened a furious cannonade upon the South Gate. The rebels had built a strong stockade around the wall, but this did them little good, for it was enfiladed by four Armstrong guns of the allied force, and these worked fearful havoc among the crowded defenders. After an hour's bombardment, two large breaches were made. Storming parties of Ward's disciplined Chinese and their allies now advanced under the protection of covering parties of riflemen. The artillery was brought up to enfilade the breaches as the storming party prepared to charge.

The Taipings met the charge with desperate courage.

The two snake flags of their chief were raised over the breaches, and here the rebels rallied again and again, to drive the assaulting columns back. Even when driven from the wall, the rebels rallied in the city, and lost their lives in a fruitless attempt to expel the enemy. The whole garrison was captured. The Imperial Braves had cut off the rebel retreat so effectively that not one Taiping escaped.

Ward had ordered Colonel Forrester, who was in command at Sungkiang, to come up with fifteen hundred men to garrison Tsingpu, as soon as it was captured. It was part of Ward's plan of campaign to move his headquarters to Tsingpu and hold it as a base for operations against Soochow.

Forrester arrived on May 16th. Ward's main force and the Anglo-French allies immediately set out for Nanchiao and attacked it on the afternoon of May 17th. They had with them a battery of fourteen guns. After a short bombardment, Ward's men charged across ditches in the face of a sharp fire, and cleared a passage for the French and British. The Ever Victorious Army bore the brunt of the attack, Ward himself with his cheroot and his rattan cane leading the way. There was heavy work before Ward's men when they reached the wall. The rebels had been lying concealed under the inner slope of the wall during the cannonade. As the storming party appeared the rebels started from cover, remanned their guns and gave the stormers a stubborn fight. In spite of their courage the Taipings were routed.

The French paid heavily for the victory. Their commander, Admiral Protet, was shot through the heart and

died instantly. He was the first officer of high rank killed in the war on the Taipings. The Emperor ordered sacrificial offerings to appease the manes of the dead admiral and "one hundred marten skins and four rolls of Imperial satin sent to the family of the deceased as a mark of Imperial consideration."

From Nanchiao, Ward and the allies moved up the creek to Cholin. On May 18th, they began a cannonade that lasted from early morning until noon, but they could not take the city that day, so determined was the rebel resistance. One of Ward's officers tells of a Taiping leader in this action who "performed an act of the most daring courage with remarkable coolness and audacity. This chief left the town and made a circuit of our position, coming upon us from the rear. He calmly rode right through with a few of his followers, satisfying himself of our position and numbers. Every one took him for an Imperialist and allowed him to pass on. When he got near the town, he rode for his life, and got to his friends inside the city."

The Taipings held on through the 19th of May, keeping their men at the walls in pits dug behind the parapet. These pits were roofed with planks covered with earth, and they protected the rebels from the bombardment. At dawn on the twentieth, Ward delivered a surprise attack after a short cannonade, and took Cholin at the point of the bayonet.

VII. THE PATHS OF GLORY

WITH the capture of Kiating, Tsingpu, Nanchiao and Cholin, it appeared that the campaign to clear the rebels from the thirty-mile zone around Shanghai was successfully concluded. But it was not concluded for long. There was no rest for Ward. Right after the victory of Cholin, word came to him that the Taipings were advancing northwest of Shanghai and that Kiating was about to fall, because of the blundering strategy of Governor Hsueh of Kiangsu. The Governor had become jealous of Ward's success and started out to win some glory for himself with ten thousand provincial troops which he had collected at Paoshan, north of Shanghai, for a move against Taitsang. He was utterly routed and lost most of his army. The rebels who had beaten Hsueh were encouraged to follow up their success by attacking Kiating.

The British General Stavely hastened from Cholin to Kiating where he succeeded in getting out the Anglo-French garrison before the rebels struck. He left Li Ai-tang and his army to hold the city in the face of an advance by the Loyal King's men who were coming on in great force. The whole campaign around Shanghai in 1862 was of an extraordinary nature. The Loyal King seemed

to be everywhere. Ward marched through the Taipings again and again, and both armies marched around each other, Ward's force like a compact little flotilla riding on a flood of rebels.

Just after the news of the imminent fall of Kiating, word came to Ward at Cholin that the enemy was before Sungkiang again, this time one hundred thousand strong. The city was held by a small force of disciplined Chinese. Ward knew that if Sungkiang fell, Shanghai would be in danger. He immediately set out for its relief. Ward's setting out with less than two thousand men to cope with a rebel army of one hundred thousand might have seemed ridiculous, had it not been for the overwhelming superiority of his arms and discipline, and also that the Imperialists were prone to exaggerate the size of Taiping armies. Ward moved back to Sungkiang with his main army, leaving Forrester with fifteen hundred men to hold Tsingpu.

Forrester's position at Tsingpu was full of peril. A fighter less resolute and courageous than he would have given up Tsingpu within a few days after Ward's departure. Forrester fought on for weeks, against the attacks of the foe whose numbers seemed to increase daily. It soon became evident that it was only a question of how long the city could be held against the great army of the Loyal King. As it was, the Loyal King came near putting an end to the Ever Victorious Army. Twenty thousand of his men laid siege to Tsingpu, and as many appeared before Kiating. Kiating was taken, and Li Ai-tang's army was practically annihilated. The fall

of Kiating enabled the Loyal King to make Tsingpu untenable.

Ward could not help Forrester. He was being kept busy at Sungkiang, beating off the attacks of Ling-ho, one of the Loyal King's favorite officers. On May 30th, Ling-ho tried to take Sungkiang by storm. He attacked so suddenly and so quietly that when Ward's force manned the walls, the scaling ladders of Ling-ho's soldiers had been placed, and the rebels were coming up. The Taiping ladders consisted of two bamboo poles, about two feet apart, fastened together at either end. The men clambered up these poles, pushed up by those below. So fiercely did the Taipings swarm up these improvised ladders that Ward's men were grateful for the assistance of a detachment of British marines from Sir James Hope's command, which came up from Shanghai. Ling-ho was killed in the action. On the 2nd of June, the rebels, who had got reinforcements from the main army of the Loyal King, captured all the stockades around Sungkiang. On the 3rd, 4th, and 5th they attacked daily, beginning with a cannonade from a battery they had erected outside the West Gate. Ward beat off the attacks, but what really saved the city was the sudden withdrawal of the Loyal King to Nanking, by peremptory orders of the Taiping leader, Hung Siu-tsuen.

Ward now set out to rescue Colonel Forrester. In his *Personal Recollections* Forrester has given a graphic account of his defense of Tsingpu, and what happened to him there. He says:

"Left with fifteen hundred men to hold Tsingpu against I knew not how strong an enemy, I did not feel

uncomfortable at the time, for both the French and the British Admirals promised me reinforcements within forty-eight hours.

"We had a considerable number of prisoners, and after seeing the flotilla off, it was dark when I re-entered the city. I had not the vaguest idea of how many prisoners we had captured, but when they were all corralled there proved to my astonishment to be about four thousand.

"The help promised within two days failed to materialize. Then came a period of weary watching and waiting. Days merged into weeks, and no message or sign of relief came. Every day my fears grew stronger that some disaster must have happened to my friends. These fears were confirmed when one day some stragglers were caught outside the walls. They told us that Sungkiang had fallen and the entire garrison of five thousand had been massacred. What chance had I with only fifteen hundred? It was not until weeks later that this report was found to be without truth and simply an ingenious ruse of the enemy to weaken our courage.

"We were not left long to think about it. The rebels swarmed down on us in great numbers soon afterwards. They built a stockade around the city about a mile from the walls, and began a series of attacks. Time and again they made desperate attempts to scale the walls with ladders. We were kept busy night and day. For the first few weeks of the siege, before the force was seriously reduced, I tried to counteract this by making frequent sorties under cover of night or a heavy fog. These dashes were bloody affairs and always resulted in heavy loss to the enemy. But

they could spare ten where I could spare one, and the material reduction of my force began to be disastrous."

The Taipings tried all the stratagems known to Chinese military art in their endeavor to wrest Tsingpu from Forrester. One of these was to construct fire rafts, which were sent to drift with the tide down the canal to the city gates. The fire rafts were followed by other rafts with little huts made bullet-proof with cotton padding. Under this cover the rebels proposed to enter the gate after it had been fired. Forrester was too quick for them. He sent a party of riflemen along the canal bank to intercept the rafts. As the rebels came out of their huts to engage the riflemen along the canal banks they were picked off by troops stationed on the Tsingpu walls. The greater number of them were shot or drowned in their attempt to escape. The rafts served Forrester's men as firewood, for wood of any kind was scarce in the beleaguered city.

"After our position had become a desperate one," says Forrester, "the rebel Wang, the Protecting King, sent a flag of truce to the gate, with a request for a personal interview. It was appointed for the next day. At that time my command was less than five hundred. His request was doubtless intended as a means of determining our strength, and it seemed unwise to permit him to come into the city. But it suddenly occurred to me that I might improvise an army for his special entertainment. The uniforms of our dead soldiers were divided among a certain number of the rebel prisoners who were drawn up in double rank behind a front line of our own men. These forced enlistments were given bamboo sticks to hold, which at a distance of a few hundred yards looked enough like gunbarrels to

deceive any one, and they were told that the slightest movement meant instant death.

"The trick was all the easier to practise on Wang as he had only one eye, the other having been put out by the explosion of a percussion cap. He had achieved the sobriquet of 'Cockeye' in consequence. When he was escorted through the square where the make-believe garrison was drawn up, it appeared several times as large as it really was.

"Wang made a very liberal proposition. He offered, if I would capitulate, to give each officer as much gold, and each private as much silver, as he could carry, and guaranteed that the Taipings should draw back five miles from the city walls, so that we might have secure egress by the south gate to Sungkiang.

"I refused the offer, and pointing boastfully to the garrison, which I asserted was strong enough to hold the city against any odds, intimated that the interview was at an end.

"Unfortunately, all my officers were with me during the conference, and heard the liberal money offer made by Wang. It aroused their cupidity at once and with the excuse that we could not hold out much longer anyway, the bolder ones spoke up and asked me to recall Wang before it was too late. When I refused to listen to them they went off to their quarters sullenly.

"Among the Chinese sergeant-majors were some thoroughly loyal and faithful men. Two of them warned me that evening that serious dissatisfaction was growing among the officers. I set an investigation on foot and found that a treacherous plot was already under way to

have me assassinated if I should persist in refusing Wang's offer. When I should be out of the way, the negotiations would be resumed and some story cooked up to account for my death.

"There was no time to spare. The ringleaders were arrested, but the next morning came a 'round robin' from all the remaining officers demanding that I accept the terms of the capitulation. This bordered so close on mutiny that I was forced to put the 'round robin' writers under arrest too. Fighting, fatigue and famine had worn us out, and now with all my European officers in prison, I had nothing but Chinese to depend upon."

The Chinese served Forrester well. They kept up the defense day after day, repelling attacks from the walls, and keeping a sharp lookout on the country round. The relief of the city was accomplished through a curious incident.

"The days dragged wearily on," says Forrester, "marked by skirmishing and an occasional attack in force, until one day word was brought that a lorcha, flying the French flag, was approaching the city by way of the canal. [A lorcha is a light two- or three-masted vessel with a hull built on a European model and rigged like a Chinese junk with batten lug sails.] Standing on top of the wall at the gate, I was able to look right down on her deck as she approached. I hailed the boat and the commander replied that she was loaded with arms and ammunitions for the rebels, and on her way to the front.

"He proposed to keep right on his course whether we liked it or not. The lorcha was being towed by about fifty coolies on each bank. I ordered a corporal, who could

speak their dialect, to call out to the coolies that as soon as they had passed the wall, if they dropped the rope and ran we wouldn't shoot them.

"The canals of China are dyked so they can be tapped for irrigating purposes. I took a small force, and running rapidly to another gate of the city, got under the shelter of the canal bank before the lorcha came up. My force was posted so that we could sweep the deck of the vessel as soon as it passed the wall. The plan worked perfectly. With the first shot, the coolies ran, and the boat, thus deserted, lost headway and swung across the canal. Our first volley killed several. The others bolted and escaped over the stern.

"The coolies who escaped unwittingly did me a good turn. When they reached Shanghai, they said that the lorcha had been captured by the rebels. This report reached the ears of Li Hung-chang who had just been made viceroy of the province of Kiangsu, and who communicated the news to General Ward. When the uniforms were described, Ward at once recognized that it was my command which had captured the boat. Until then he had supposed that my entire force, as well as myself, had been put to death and that Tsingpu was in the hands of the rebels.

"General Ward at once set about organizing an expedition, in conjunction with Admiral Hope, for my relief. When assembled, the force consisted of two thousand disciplined Chinese troops, five hundred men from the Naval Brigade, and five hundred English regulars under Colonel Spencer, two gunboats and two transports. . . . I well remember the day they reached me, for I had about given

up all hope of ever getting out alive. It was June 10th, 1862."

The relieving force marched across country from Kwanfuling because all the waterways around Tsingpu were held by the rebels. They fought several minor engagements on the way. When they arrived before Tsingpu the British formed the rear guard, while Ward's force went into the city. Ward and Forrester wanted to hold Tsingpu against the rebels, but Admiral Hope opposed the idea. A retirement was ordered.

"Very much against my wishes and advice," says Forrester, "orders were given to spike the guns and prepare to burn the city. When I remonstrated with the two commanders, Admiral Hope stated that he had lent his assistance with the distinct understanding that Tsingpu should be evacuated. I offered to hold the city with five hundred extra men, but my proposition was not listened to."

A section of Tsingpu was fired to cover the retirement with smoke. This gave notice to the Taipings that their enemies were retreating and they rushed the city. The retreat was turned into a running fight. In crossing the unbridged ditches and canals around Tsingpu, Ward's men lost heavily. The confusion of the retreat was so great that no one knew just what was happening. When Ward reached his boats at Kwanfuling he discovered that Forrester and most of his men were missing. He concluded that they had been captured and executed by the rebels.

"Naturally a good deal of confusion followed upon the order to set fire to the city," says Forrester. "In the attendant excitement, some one blundered. The fact that

—*Courtesy of the British Museum.*

ADMIRAL SIR JAMES HOPE

—*Courtesy Bibliotheque Nationale.*

ADMIRAL PROTET

Commanders of the Anglo-French forces in China who first opposed and later supported General Ward in his campaigns.

my European officers were under arrest made the situation a complicated one. The west gate was left unguarded. Before we could fairly realize what had happened the rebels had scaled the walls and were swarming through the city. I suddenly realized that the insurgents were in possession and were making quick work of my people. Borne aloft over their front ranks were the heads of my officers fixed on spears—the unfortunate men whom I had recently placed under arrest. The rebels were showing no quarter and fighting like demons. In an incredibly short time my men were entirely annihilated.

"General Ward, whose command was near East Gate, was driven beyond the walls, as far as the English lines, where the Admiral opened fire from his gunboats, shielding the Imperialists while embarking.

"While I was a witness to all this, including the massacre of my men, I, curiously enough, had no participation in the affair. At the first sound of firing, I had rushed up a tower close by, which had been in use as an observatory, with a view to ascertaining the cause of the disturbance. Before I could get down the rebels had completely surrounded the tower—so quickly did they overrun the city—and I was a prisoner.

"When the work of destruction was finished, they offered to spare my life if I would descend. I knew what their proposition meant. The end would be worse than death. It meant torture. So I declined, but heaped upon their heads such insult as my vocabulary was capable of, in the hope that they would shoot and end all quickly. But it was not to be so. Finally I was taken, stripped

naked, my elbows tied behind my back and led before the Protecting King."

The Protecting King, or Hu Wang, was a general against whom, so the Loyal King said, "The Chinese people had made many complaints because of his cruelty."

"This Wang had appropriated my headquarters, and when I entered, was sitting in the very chair I had used so recently during my interview with him. He was in a furious rage, both because the city had been burned and because after his visit I had been very strict with my prisoners, being compelled to punish with instant death any infraction of the rules. I refused to kneel when ordered, with the idea of so insulting him that he would put me to death. His soldiers, however, easily forced me down, by striking me back of my knees. Wang was drinking out of a tea pot when I was led in. As soon as I had been forced down he threw it at me, the scalding tea splashing over my head and breast. In response to his questions I replied that I alone was responsible for the orders to shoot the prisoners and burn the city. I hoped he would lose his temper and order me shot then and there. Such, however, was not the result. Instead, he devised quite an ingenious plan of torture, which contemplated that I should be covered with paper soaked in oil, then set on fire, and the amusement kept up until I should be reduced to cinders." (This punishment is known to the Chinese as *Tien Tien* or 'lighting the lamp of heaven.')

"My guards led me to an underground room, lined with concrete, which had been used as a magazine, there to spend the night and await in anticipation of my approaching death. There was not the slightest hope of

escape. My legs as well as my arms were securely bound. A crowd of curious rebels hung around the door staring and jeering. Among them was the fourteen-year-old son of the Protecting King, who was accompanied by his tutor, a dignified and fine looking fellow. The boy was smoking a silver pipe and, puffing it until the bowl had become almost red hot, he touched it to my unprotected body. The flesh sizzled and the crowd applauded the cruelty. He did it several times, until, finally, his position bringing him within my reach, I drew back both feet and gave a kick that knocked him down and sent him sliding across the room. The boy lost all control of his temper and picking up a gingall hurled it at me. The iron struck my shoulder and knocked me flat.

"The tutor had not entered into the spirit of the boy's torments at all and, at this cowardly act, he administered to the lad a severe reproof, saying that honorable soldiers never took advantage of prisoners or unarmed men. It turned out after all that the boy had a good heart. The tutor's words produced an effect and he seemed thoroughly ashamed of his cruelty. He begged me to forgive him and swore that I should not be put to death by his father. From that moment he became my warmest friend and secret ally.

"He was as good as his word. The next morning when I was led out for execution he pleaded my cause so earnestly that his father presently consented to spare my life. I confess that I had some fears that the Protecting King's action was not altogether from merciful motives, and that he had the intention to renew my agonies at no distant day.

"Preparatory to the forward movement of the rebel forces, an iron collar was riveted around my neck and one end of a chain fastened to this collar and the other to the saddle of a packhorse. In this manner, with my arms bound and my person entirely naked, I walked or was dragged for more than thirty days under a broiling sun. It would be impossible to give even a faint idea of my sufferings during that period. From a strong, robust man I wasted away to a mere skeleton and, at the end of a month, I was well-nigh broken in spirit as well as in body. Had it not been for my boy friend, the son of the King, I certainly would have given up. My daily allowance of food and drink was a pint bowl filled with rice and water; but the boy would frequently steal up in the night to where I was chained and bring me food that seemed a feast.

"Our first destination was Soo-Chow-Foo, about fifty miles east of Tsingpu. During the few days we remained here I was kept fastened, in a sort of gorilla fashion, to a stake in one of the streets. Every conceivable indignity, annoyance and torment was heaped upon me, by both soldiers and natives. From Soo-Chow-Foo I was led to Wo-Kong, thence to Ping-Wan, then in a southerly direction, north again to Ping-Hoo, and at last east to Chapoo, the rebel headquarters on Hang-Chow Bay. At each place, when we halted, I was subjected to treatment similar to that received at Soo-Chow-Foo.

"When we reached Chapoo a room in a wing of the King's palace was assigned to me as a prison. My chain was fastened to an overhead beam, but it was long enough to allow me to lie down and to move about a little. The

windows of this room overlooked the square where the executions took place. Whenever heads were cut off I was forced to witness it and told that such would be my fate on the morrow.

"As week succeeded week my captors began to treat me with a little more humanity. First, my allowance of rice and water was increased. Then I was daily led to the king's room and given my meals there—the best food to be obtained. Finally, the Protecting King proposed that I join their forces, and offered me fifty thousand dollars if I would take command under him. When I refused this he offered to give me a hundred thousand dollars if I would go back to Shanghai and serve their cause as a spy. This I also refused, but the proposition was again and again repeated.

"In his turn, the king refused an offer of a ransom of a hundred thousand dollars, which I felt sure the government would give. Money was of no use to him, but he stood in great need of arms and ammunition. After many talks he finally agreed to take a ransom for me if it would be paid in munitions of war. I had no hope that the government would accept any proposition which would be equivalent to strengthening the resources of the enemy; but for all that I sent a letter by courier to General Ward, explaining Wang's terms. The king had given me twenty days' grace. If by that time the answer had not arrived, my long delayed execution was to take place."

After the fall of Tsingpu, the British and French withdrew from the thirty-mile radius campaign, and limited their sphere of action for the time to defending the for-

eign settlement of Shanghai. On June 14, 1862, they left the field to Ward. This suited Ward to the ground. He had wanted all along to operate independently of the European allies, whose support at Tsingpu had been rather a liability.

During the summer the Ever Victorious Army was the only active military force in the Shanghai sector. It was the one force that blocked any sudden Taiping raid upon Shanghai. The city was still panicky, and it needed the visible presence of Ward and his army to reassure it. There were then in Shanghai more than five hundred thousand war refugees who were a daily reminder to the Imperialists that the Taipings were still very near.

The Anglo-French allies remained inactive during June, July, and August. The broiling summer heat told on them, and their sufferings were intensified by an epidemic of cholera. The French had broken down altogether. The British were in no condition for active service. Admiral Hope had left the scene of hostilities and gone to Chefoo to recover from his leg wound. General Stavely had gone to Japan for his health. Ward and his lieutenants, all of whom, except Macanaya, had been wounded during the spring campaign, were made of sterner stuff and they remained at their posts.

After Tsingpu, Ward went to Sungkiang and spent the months of June and July in reorganizing his army. He kept the Ever Victorious Army busy drilling and preparing for the fall campaign. In July he fought one action, driving back the Taipings at Kinshanwei, off Hangchow Bay, on the 17th.

Shortly before the battle of Kinshanwei Ward received

Imperial permission to increase the Ever Victorious Army to six thousand men, and, according to H. B. Morse, he was elevated to the rank of Titu or Major-general in the Chinese army. He immediately divided his existing force into six battalions each of which was the foundation of a regiment. These regiments were recruited to the strength of five hundred men each. There were five infantry regiments, a regiment of riflemen, and in addition four batteries of siege artillery and two of field artillery.

The commissioned officers in each regiment were a colonel or lieutenant-colonel, one major, one adjutant, six captains, and six lieutenants. These officers were Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, with Americans in the majority. Among them were many seafaring men and former regular army officers, and quite a number who had been soldiers of fortune here and there in the world. They were a brave and reckless lot, reliable in action but often troublesome in garrison. Ward alone, of all their commanders, knew how to get along with them. Their pay was high for the time, but the service was dangerous, and they deserved what they got. The pay of the colonels was $400 a month, lieutenant-colonels, $350; majors, $300; adjutants, $250; captains, $220; lieutenants, $150.

The non-commissioned officers and privates were all Chinese. The non-commissioned officers were the most seasoned soldiers of the native command, selected largely from Ward's first regiment which had lost heavily at Tsingpu. Each regiment had six top sergeants who were paid twenty dollars a month; twelve sergeants at fifteen dollars a month, twenty-four corporals at twelve dollars

a month, and 480 privates at eight dollars a month. In garrison, officers and men had to find themselves out of their pay, but when they were in the field each man received daily in addition to his pay, two pounds of rice, a pound of salt pork or two pounds of salt fish, and a small amount of vegetables and oil.

The pay in the artillery was a little higher than in the infantry. The officers received from twenty to forty dollars a month more, the non-commissioned officers and privates two dollars a month more. Medical officers, commissary officers, military storekeepers and aides of various kinds got $300 a month. The whole force was paid monthly. In addition to the regular pay prize money was given to all ranks for each city captured. This prize money in some instances amounted to as much as $100,000. The payment was usually in Mexican or Carolus silver dollars.

The force was well armed for the East at that time. The infantry used mostly the smooth-bored English musket. One regiment had Prussian rifles of an old pattern, firing conical balls. The regiment of sharpshooters was armed with Enfield rifles. Each infantryman carried at least fifty rounds of ammunition in his pouch.

The artillery was the most important arm of Ward's contingent. It consisted of four thirty-two pound howitzers, three twenty-four pounders, eighteen twelve-pounder mountain howitzers, two eight inch howitzers, a dozen mortars, and several rocket tubes. The mountain howitzers, very light cannon which could be packed on a mule's back, were American guns which had been made for use in General John C. Fremont's expedition across the plains, and which had somehow found their way to

China. These howitzers were later used by "Chinese" Gordon. The guns were mounted on traveling carriages, and there were special boats to transport them. Each gun carried from 200 to 500 rounds of ammunition. There was a small fleet of vessels which carried planks, platforms, bridges, and pontoons for the artillery. Each field battery also carried planks enough to make short tramways for its guns. The infantry regiments had planks strapped to their scaling ladders and these could be used as bridges. This made it easy for the Ever Victorious Army and all its guns to cross the numerous waterways of Kiangsu.

Almost as important as the artillery was the fleet of armored steamers and gunboats of light draught which Ward had bought in the United States and England. The steamers were very effective in the sort of campaign Ward had to wage. English military observers said they were worth fully three thousand men each. These were small iron, paddle steamers, about ninety feet long and twenty-four feet wide, drawing three to four feet of water. They carried two guns, a thirty-two pounder forward, and a twelve pounder aft, mounted on swivels. The crew included a captain, an engineer, and an artillery officer, all foreigners; and four stokers, ten gunners, and twenty sailors all Chinese. These light-draught boats with their powerful paddle wheels were practically amphibious, and could move along the canals when the water was very low. There were in addition many light gunboats which drew only a foot or two of water. These were about forty feet long and ten broad, propelled by a sweep working over the stern. They carried nine-pounder or six-pounder guns in the bows, and were manned by a crew of ten men.

The use of these boats and steamers and the carrying of pontoons and bridges was the secret of Ward's strategy, as it was later of "Chinese" Gordon's. Ward adapted the organization of his army to the nature of the country he had to operate in, with its network of canals, rivers, and lakes. Organized as it was the Ever Victorious Army could move very fast over the difficult Kiangsu flats. It could close in swiftly upon any rebel position and taking the enemy by surprise, hold them at a fatal disadvantage. Ward always took the initiative and acted on the offensive. His success was due to his great ability as a leader on the field, and to the thoroughness with which he organized his army.

Ward gave a good deal of attention to drilling his new regiment of riflemen, and he was planning to get together a regiment of cavalry. His dream was to lead an army of twenty-five thousand disciplined Chinese, with infantry, cavalry and artillery. In the summer of 1862, Ward's fast moving and perfectly armed force, with its steamers and its artillery, was easily the most powerful single military organization in China.

While Ward was rebuilding his army changes were going on in the Chinese administration which he served. Early in July, Li Hung-chang became Futai, or governor, of Kiangsu. The Futai was the head of the province in all matters, and as vice-president of the board of war, was commander-in-chief of all the provincial armies. Li was a scholar who had turned soldier, and had been fighting the rebels for many years. He first attracted attention as a guerilla harrier of the Loyal King's retreat in 1853, when he raised a regiment of militia in Anhwei, and followed the retreating rebels to cut off stragglers. Since that

time he had held a post on the staff of Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan, the nemesis of the Taipings.

Li Hung-chang was an active, shrewd, and ambitious official who seldom missed an opportunity to feather his own financial nest. He had never been in favor of the use of foreign troops against the Taipings, but he was too much of an opportunist not to see the value of the Ever Victorious Army in furthering the career of Li Hung-chang. He knew how to write memorials to the throne. "Li, with his ready pen," says J. O. P. Bland, "saw to it that the achievements of the Ever Victorious Army and its leader were merged for purposes of historical accuracy in the blaze of glory which fittingly rewarded his own exploits of foresight and of valour."

An Imperial edict published in the North-China Herald on August 9, 1862, shortly after Li had taken up his new duties, recounted mighty deeds by the new governor of Kiangsu: "Li Hung-chang reports that he has driven back the main body of the rebels; that Sungkiang is relieved and Shanghai safe." A number of Chinese officers and especially the governor's brother, Li Han-chang, are named in the edict, but Ward, who had done the work, is not mentioned.

It is difficult to determine exactly what Li thought of Ward. His ideas on the subject are nowhere set down, but from his actions it is to be judged that his attitude toward the commander of the Ever Victorious Army was a compound of wariness, jealousy, and a determination to use him to the limit for his own ends. As governor of Kiangsu and commander of the armies against the Taipings on the lower Yangtze, Li immediately sent for

Ward and questioned him about the campaign, about the Ever Victorious Army, about himself and his plans. Li seemed well enough satisfied, though he suspected that Ward had ambitious plans of his own. It was common talk in Shanghai that Ward still clung to some of the grandiose dreams which had lured him to China—dreams of high office and even of a principality. "He was credited, without definite proof," says H. B. Morse, "with ambitious schemes for his personal aggrandizement and with a desire to carve a career such as that of Dupleix or Lally."

Whatever Ward's ambitious schemes were, no act of his showed that he wanted more than his just deserts as commander of the force that turned back the rebels in Kiangsu. All his actions after the foundation of the Ever Victorious Army indicate that he had modified his early ambitions, and that he sought no more than the recognition which any Chinese general in his position would have expected.

After his interview with the governor, Ward returned to Sungkiang and went on with the reconstruction of the Ever Victorious Army. Li had questioned Ward about the Imperialist general, Li Ai-tang. Ward's report on that worthy was not favorable, and one of Li's first official acts was to dismiss Li Ai-tang because of his bad showing against the Taipings. Li Ai-tang's successor was a renegade Taiping named Chen Siaoki. He was a man of energy and courage, and was reputed to have gained great wealth from the spoils of the rebellion.

During all this time no word came of Forrester's fate. Everyone thought he was dead. About the middle of July

rumors began to float into Sungkiang that he was alive and a prisoner of the Taipings. Ward tried to run these rumors to earth, but he could learn nothing definite until Forrester's letter from Chapoo came with the Taiping demand for ransom. The letter took a long time reaching Ward, and by the time the ransom was on its way, Forrester's chances for life had dwindled seriously.

"Days came and went with disheartening regularity," says Forrester. "The hope of life which had been renewed in my breast, grew fainter with each going down of the sun. With dawn I began to strain my eyes over the waters of the bay for the signs of foreign-masted vessels. At last there appeared on the horizon the cross-trees for the coming of which I had so long watched. Topsail and mainsail and then hull came into view, and before eleven o'clock, I knew that the English man-of-war which had arrived contained a ransom as royal as was ever paid for a King.

"Immediately upon the arrival of my letter in Shanghai, the officer in command began loading, on the vessel tendered by the English admiral, the munitions of war, opium, etc., demanded as the only payment which would purchase my life, and within forty-eight hours the man-of-war was under weigh."

The ransom, according to Forrester, "consisted of one million rounds of ammunition, two hundred stands of arms and ten chests of opium, each containing one hundred and thirty-three pounds. Whatever its cost to the Imperialists, it certainly had a value of half a million to the rebels. It had been gotten together and dispatched under the personal order of Li Hung-chang, and it is perhaps

not egotistical in me to think that no civilization has ever presented a finer act of generosity."

Forrester, who ought to know, claims that the ransom included ten chests of opium. Other writers on the Taiping Rebellion make no mention of the opium. Andrew Wilson says it consisted of "powder and muskets," alone. Montalto de Jesus says "muskets and gunpowder."

"The next morning," says Forrester, "the Protecting King gave me a pair of Chinese trousers and a jacket and escorted me to the shore to meet the commander of the British ship. The latter after congratulating me, inquired if we could trust the Rebel King to let me go after the ransom should be landed. Upon my assuring him that Wang would keep his word, the work of putting the cargo ashore forthwith began: but when half the munitions had been landed the captain proposed that the remainder should be retained, under the pretense that the entire lot had been put ashore, thus saving the other half for ourselves. Upon my refusal it was all landed, the cartridge boxes being piled at my suggestion in tens for easy counting.

"Then I was told that I was free. The captain's proposition must have been heard and reported to the Wang by some English-speaking rebel, for when we bade him goodbye, he asked, with a fine show of sarcasm, for the captain's photograph, that he might remember how an English gentleman looked who had tried to tempt a sick and worn-out prisoner to leave with only half his ransom paid.

"Words can scarcely describe my physical condition at this time, and when we arrived at Shanghai, I was taken

to Admiral Hope's flagship under a salute of seven guns. Every attention was rendered me, and two surgeons attended me assiduously until my health was quite restored.

"No sooner was I able to leave the man-of-war than I was summoned to testify in a court-martial against the captain of the gunboat that had brought my ransom. For his proposition to pay but one half the ransom he was, after a careful trial, sentenced to dishonorable dismissal from the navy. Later on, while waiting for some action upon his sentence, he joined Sir Rhoderick Dhu's expedition as a volunteer and met his death fighting bravely at Ning-Po."

Forrester gives credit for the payment of the ransom to Li Hung-chang. Other writers on the Taiping rebellion give it to Ward. Since the money had to come from Ward's backers, it is likely that the credit was his. It is not probable that Li, whose ruling passion was avarice, and who was no admirer of foreigners in the Imperial service, would have spent so large a sum of money to save the life of one of them. There is little doubt that Ward got the money for Forrester's ransom, but he did not have to get anywhere near a half million taels. The prices which he paid for arms, ammunition, and opium were far lower than the Taipings had to pay. Shut off from the foreign market at Shanghai and wholly dependent on smugglers, the rebels paid as high as one hundred dollars for antique muskets. Ward could buy them for less than one-fifth that sum. The prices which he paid for ammunition were also much lower than the prices paid by the Taipings.

When Forrester returned he was in a state of collapse,

but he recovered considerably in a short time and was able to be of some help to Ward in his campaigns in the summer and fall. The Ever Victorious Army paid the Protecting King for Forrester's sufferings in the last battle which it fought against the rebels, on May 11th, 1864. In that action it captured the city of Changchow, and among the prisoners taken was the Protecting King. He was at once beheaded on orders from Li Hung-chang.

After Forrester's return, Ward put the finishing touches on his new Chinese levies, and prepared for another attack upon Tsingpu. He now had five thousand disciplined Chinese in good military shape. Sungkiang had become a first class army post. A writer in the *North-China Herald* reported that: "The Sungkiang guardhouses are now tenanted by Ward's disciplined Chinese who present a very creditable appearance." The same writer said that Ward's men were also guarding the west gate of Ningpo, and that their discipline was a source of amazement to the regular Chinese Imperial army. Ward's success with Chinese troops led others to imitate him. At Ningpo a Franco-Chinese force, modeled on his army, was formed, with a French officer in charge.

On August 8th, Ward set out for his fifth attack upon Tsingpu. He took with him four thousand men and five batteries of artillery, siege guns, howitzers, field pieces and mortars. The artillery was under command of a Colonel Sartoli, an expert artillery officer who had been trained under Garibaldi.

The entire force and its guns were conveyed to Tsingpu by boat. Ward found the city surrounded with stockades, but he soon drove the defenders of the stockades into the

A RIVER FIGHT

An action between Ward and the Taipings near Shanghai, and typical of the strategy which Ward used in thwarting the Taipings.

city. The Ever Victorious Army waited at the stockades until night, and then under cover of darkness planted its guns close to the walls. Ward set his men to digging trenches, but the land was so marshy that the trenches at once filled with water. He then had his men build parapets of bags filled with earth. These served very well.

The attack on Tsingpu began next day. The artillery opened up at dawn with a bombardment which lasted four hours, the Chinese gunners doing brilliant work under Sartoli's direction. Then Ward waved his men on to the charge. Three regiments formed the storming party. The fourth, Ward's new regiment of riflemen, kept the walls clear of rebels. The first charge was repulsed, because the storming party could not cross the moat. A company of Manilamen, who had been detailed to throw bridges over it, terrified by the hail of shot that fell over them, had fled and left the bridges in the ditch. A small party of Ward's men made their way across the moat in sampans, but they were too few for the work before them. They stood bravely under the walls until Ward sounded the retreat. A number of Ward's American officers now went forward and laid the bridges. Ward then reformed his men and the storming party advanced under cover of the artillery, which with grape, shell and canister kept the rebels off the walls. The three regiments swarmed through the breach which was cleared of rebels in five minutes. The city was speedily taken. A prize was offered to the first man to enter the breach. The prize was won by Vicente Macanaya, the daredevil leader of Ward's bodyguard. Colonel Forrester was in the action, but he was so weak

he had to be carried in a sedan chair. In his reminiscences Forrester took credit to himself for directing Ward's force at Tsingpu, though he was hardly in condition to do much directing.

"At daybreak," he says, "the artillery began a vigorous bombardment. The city wall was about forty feet high. On top of the wall was a six-foot parapet, with embrasures for cannon. This Sartoli first demolished with his light artillery, the shot falling just above the spot where I had decided to breach the wall; so that the enemy would have no cover from which to annoy our storming party. The wall itself was faced with thick granite blocks and, even with our effective ordnance, was not easy to raze. Sartoli's accuracy as a cannoneer came into good use. He trained the guns so that the balls dug a circular groove out of the wall, and when this was about five feet deep, fired percussion shells, which blew out the central part. This mass of broken stone fell outward into the moat, partially filling it, and making our attack all the easier. As soon as this occurred, the storming party of a thousand men rushed forward. They were delayed a few minutes only, while the heavy bamboo ladders were lowered across the chasm to form a bridge. Then, under the protecting fire of my sharpshooters, stationed in a tall, four story pagoda, they charged the breach and, after some sanguinary hand-to-hand fighting, captured the city. Our loss in killed and wounded numbered fifteen officers and two hundred men." (Among those killed was the Italian artillerist, Col. Sartoli.)

"Detachments had been stationed at all the gates, so that none of the enemy escaped, and we presently found

that we had a city full of prisoners on our hands. It may be imagined that I was not a little elated over our success, and no time was lost in sending a courier with the news to Li Hung-chang. Li when told that there were a great number of high rebel chiefs among the prisoners, expressed much satisfaction at their capture. He sent the mayor of Sungkiang to me the next day with full authority to "cut, kill or take away those captured." The scene that followed surpasses description. So many hundreds were beheaded that the streets again ran with blood; but even the European officers in my command agreed that the measure was necessary in dealing with such fanatics. Among those led out one day to be slaughtered was the eleven year-old son of one of the Wangs. Used as I had become to bloodshed and death, I could not stand by and see this innocent lad murdered. When I interceded with the Mayor, he readily consented to spare the boy's life. The lad turned out to be a bright-witted and tender-hearted little fellow. I kept him with me, while in China, as assistant to my steward and he subsequently accompanied me to Egypt and to Europe. Finally I brought him to this country and placed him in school at Clayton, New York. On attaining manhood he settled in Lansing, Michigan, where he married an American girl. A few months ago, (written in 1896) while travelling in the western states, I stopped at Lansing and hunted up my ex-steward. It was a pleasant meeting, for I found him a happy business man of considerable property."

The capture of Tsingpu marked a new phase in the campaign around Shanghai. The rebellion was beginning to

ebb. The Loyal King had been ordered back to Nanking to cope with the Imperialist leader, Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan, who had again invested the Taiping capital. Ward, who had fought the Loyal King to a standstill when he was making a bid for Shanghai earlier in the summer, now had at his command the finest body of men he had ever led. His force was more than a match for anything the Taipings could muster in the Shanghai district. But several times during the earlier summer he had been hard pressed. It is even possible that had not the Loyal King been ordered back to Nanking he might have broken the Ever Victorious Army. The Loyal King firmly believed that he could take Shanghai, and he returned to the rebel capital unwillingly at the peremptory order of the Heavenly King. As it was, if Ward had not opposed the Loyal King at every turn the rebel leader might have taken the coast cities before he was ordered back to Nanking, and thus have changed the whole course of the Taiping rebellion. The Loyal King in the autobiography which he wrote while under sentence of death, has given his version of the Taiping battles with Ward around Shanghai in the summer of 1862.

"Four months after my return to Soochow in 1862," says the Loyal King, "Li Hung-chang, who had arrived at Shanghai and succeeded Hsueh-Huan as Provincial Governor, procured some foreign devils to meet our troops in the field. Having a good custom house at Shanghai, the receipts of which furnished him with ample finances, he was in a position to obtain devil soldiers to operate against me, and hence sent them to Kiating, Tsingpu, Taitsang, and Kunshan. Their strength being somewhat

formidable I could see no other plan open than that of selecting about 10,000 well-disciplined and able-bodied men and marching against them in person. The onslaught of the devils upon a city was very fierce, and they usually accomplished their work in ten or twelve hours. Their guns were exceedingly powerful and every one of their shots took effect. They would first open fire along their lines and then under cover of this would make a bold dash for the city.

"Kiating and Tsingpu being more than thirty-three miles from Soochow I was unable to rescue either of the cities. The devils after this success then went to Taitsang and with the assistance of the Imperialist army they forced an entrance. The gates of the city were then taken possession of by the devils, and the Imperialist soldiers prevented from looting, though the devils themselves did not scruple to take away whatever men and women they liked, the Imperialists not daring to say anything to them. The devils told the soldiers that any random assertions made would bring summary vengeance on the offender whether he was a high or low official. The Tien-Wang was unwilling to employ devils for this reason. Fancy, having one thousand devils keeping in subjection my ten thousand men! Who could put up with such a thing.

"The devils reached Taitsang and so did I. The Imperialist force which had come from Shanghai, Tsingpu, Kiating, and Pao-shan consisted of ten thousand men occupying one hundred entrenched camps outside the city, and these were supported by three or four thousand well drilled troops. The cities which had been already taken were garrisoned by the devils. On my arrival at Taitsang

our forces engaged in battle and fought an indecisive engagement from seven in the morning until noon, neither side being able to claim a victory and both sides losing about a thousand men.

"On the following morning we had a second struggle at the East Gate for about three hours, from seven to ten, when we forced the devils' center, killed several hundreds of them and pursued the remainder, many of whom were ultimately drowned. We then carried thirty Imperialist stockades, and the fruits of our victory were several cannon and several stands of arms.

"The next day we continued our pursuit of their rear and then invested the city of Kiating, the devils being unable to get out.

"Reënforcements of devils from Shanghai, who had been brought up from Canton for the purpose, then came to the rescue of Kiating. These we fought for three consecutive days, the victory hanging in an even scale and two or three thousand on each side being killed or wounded. I now sent orders to the T'ing Wang to bring ten thousand men to my assistance, and as soon as these arrived I again engaged the devils, cut off the greater part of them and re-took Kiating, and as soon as I had garrisoned it I left immediately for Tsingpu, securing the devils tightly within its walls. Foreign devils from Sungkiang then came to the relief of Tsingpu and brought with them a steamer to assist them in their operations. Four guns which had been got into position beforehand were opened on the steamer as soon as she appeared, and the first shot taking effect the boat was speedily on fire. All attempts to save it met with failure. The devils fell back,

and several hundred of them were drowned in the panic that ensued. The road being nothing but water, walking was very difficult and a false step was likely to endanger life. They therefore lost many from this cause.

"Tsingpu being taken I followed up my success by taking ten Imperialist stockades near the city, and these, with what I took on my way to Sungkiang, made up above 130 in all.

"I also took all the camps outside Sungkiang, the city itself, which was garrisoned by the devils, remaining intact. The day following reënforcements for the devils arrived in boats for the succor of the city, and brought with them war material and more than ten guns. Against these I advanced and again obtained a victory, defeating the devils and taking possession of their guns and ammunition. They were afraid to assail me any more, and I was therefore able to complete the investment of Sungkiang, nay, I was on the point of gaining the desired success when news reached me that Tseng Kuo-fan was investing Nanking. The Heavenly King sent three messengers in one day to urge me to return. Such was the tenor of his decrees that I was obliged to withdraw the whole of my force from Sungkiang and turn my face once more towards Soochow."

The Loyal King was pressing Sungkiang very hard when he was ordered to return to Nanking. He seems to have realized about this time the hopelessness of the Taiping cause, which was being hastened to its doom by the fanatical obduracy of the Heavenly King. The Taiping ruler, according to the Loyal King, "believed that he had received the commands of God and Jesus to come

down upon earth and rule the empire. . . ." He did not think of inquiring about military affairs or governmental matters, but "reposed entirely in heaven's dispensations and in all his decrees said heaven could do everything and man nothing, in short he did not want to listen to anyone. . . . He never inquired about the government, but contended himself with merely instructing his ministers to adhere to the precepts of heaven, and telling them that surrounding aspects indicated signs of great peace. . . ."

The withdrawal of the Loyal King's main army took the heart out of the Taiping movement toward the coast. The rebels were recoiling upon Soochow and Nanking. After the capture of Tsingpu only a few flying columns of the Loyal King's army remained in the vicinity of Shanghai. Kiating was the only city within the thirty miles radius of Shanghai which the rebels now held. Things were looking brighter for the Imperialists. Li Hung-chang was so encouraged by this change in the Imperialist prospects that he at once began working out a plan of campaign through which the Ever Victorious Army was to end the rebellion in short order. This was nothing less than a march upon Nanking by the Ever Victorious Army and the Imperial Braves.

Li's scheme did not take account of the fact that Soochow was still being held by a rebel force under the resolute Mo Wang, a leader in whom the Loyal King placed the greatest confidence, and that the Loyal King had left in the neighboring province of Chekiang a strong army which was a constant source of danger to Ningpo and to Shanghai. Ward himself had a plan, more practical,

though less grandiose than Li's, which was to force the rebels back upon Nanking by taking Soochow. Ward's plan was later carried out by "Chinese" Gordon.

Before either of these plans could be put into operation a request for more troops was received from Ningpo. The French and the British had taken Ningpo from the Taipings in May, 1862, and they were now engaged in a struggle with the rebel army near that city. It was deemed necessary for the safety of the city to expel a rebel force of twenty thousand men from the city of Yu-Yao which was opposite Ningpo on Hangchow Bay. The Imperialists needed help for this expedition. Ward was ordered by Li Hung-chang to go to Ningpo at once.

Li's order reached Ward at sundown. Ward immediately called a parade of the Ever Victorious Army, and put it through its paces. Never had his men gone through their evolutions with such skill and precision as on that evening. Ward then took a thousand disciplined Chinese and his bodyguard of two hundred Manilamen, and embarked for Ningpo.

Forrester, who had gone to Ningpo several days before Ward, says of these movements in the late summer and autumn of 1862: "Li Hung-chang formulated the next move in the campaign. It had for its ultimate object an attack by the combined forces of Li and Ward on the rebel stronghold, Nanking. Preliminary to this attack I was sent south with two thousand men to destroy the small cities of Yu-Yeoo (Yu-Yao) and Tong-Ki. My force embarked on the steamers *Pomshan* and *Confucius* and was then moved down to Ningpo, where Sir Rhoderick Dhu (Roderick Dew) had his headquarters. There we

were joined by five hundred men under the command of Colonel Le Brethon, part of an army raised and officered by the French.

"Deciding to attack Yu-Yeoo first, Sir Rhoderick moved his flagship *Encounter* and the gunboat *Hardy* as far up the river as the deep draught vessels could be navigated. The light gunboats steamed up close to the walls and did effective work in shelling the city. Our first assault was made in a drenching rain, and we were repulsed with considerable loss while attempting to carry a bridge. As the men were disheartened we thought it best to abandon the attack until the following day."

That night Ward arrived in Ningpo and went on board H.M.S. *Encounter*, commanded by Captain Roderick Dew, C.B., for a conference. The Venerable Archdeacon Moule, an English divine, met Ward on the deck of the *Encounter* and has left an account of the meeting. "The country round was alive with the smoke of burning villages," said the Archdeacon. "The *Encounter* moved up to the West Gate which the Taipings were threatening. I called on board: and while I was speaking to the officers, Captain Dew came on board talking eagerly to the well known General Ward, the trainer and brave leader of the first bands of Chinese drilled troops in this neighborhood. The two chiefs had just arranged the plan of attack for the next day, and General Ward pointed scornfully northwards where almost under our very eyes the marauders were rioting with bloodshed and burning. The General was small, wiry, with long moustache, and with an eager, restless manner."

Next day Ward renewed the attack on Yu-Yao. It was

a hard fought battle and raged for six hours. The Ever Victorious Army lost eight officers and a hundred and fifty men. The Taipings too had been hard hit, and after nightfall, they retreated to the east and marched through the hills to the village of Tsz'ki, which was on one of the canals off the Ningpo River, about fifteen miles from Ningpo. Ward was supported by the Franco-Chinese force led by Major LeBrethon, by the British gunboat *Hardy* commanded by Lieutenant Bogle, and by the Chinese armored steamer *Confucius*. The water in the canals was too shallow to float the *Encounter* and she could make no near approach to the battles.

Ward's scouts reported the rebel movement to Tsz'ki. That night Ward made plans to follow the rebels hard, and to attack Tsz'ki the next day. He spent the evening with Lieutenant Bogle, on board H.M.S. *Hardy*. Lieutenant, later Admiral, Bogle, has left an account, in a letter to the Essex Institute, Salem, of this evening with Ward, to whom he referred as a "gallant fellow and a good friend." Bogle says that on the evening before the attack on Tsz'ki, the *Hardy* with an "extra small company of fifty men was to steam up the canal, pass under the old bridge . . . clear the approaches and wait until the arrival of General Ward and his men who marched across country. A delay occurred as the expected extra company never came aboard, being delayed by a threatened attack on Ningpo itself. But after waiting an hour, and fearing to miss the rendezvous with Ward's force, we entered the canal and steamed up in a downpour of rain. On nearing the bridge we saw it thickly occupied with men in all manner of bright colors, such as the Tai Pings show. We

nearly opened fire. But fortunately in time we recognized Ward's men in new and bright blankets on account of the rain. Ward came on board the *Hardy* and we had a pleasant evening and arranged a plan of attack for daylight. . . .

"I never saw Ward with a sword or any arm; he wore ordinary clothes,—a thick, short cape, and a hood, and carried a stick in his hand, and generally a Manila cheroot in his mouth.

"At daylight the *Hardy* opened fire with shell on the West Gate and part of Ward's force made a sham move to the South face. Later on, Ward himself led in a direct attack on the West Gate, our guns still firing shot over the heads of the storming party."

The attack on Tsz'ki took place on the morning of September 21st, 1862. Ward had between five and six hundred men, infantry mostly, with a company of artillery. Before the attack on the West Gate, Ward, and his Lieutenant, Forrester, went out to reconnoiter the field. The Taipings were in great force around Tsz'ki and Ward decided that the city must be taken at once before the rebels could concentrate for its defense.

Both Ward and Forrester were used to being under fire. They went about inspecting the position within range of the snipers on the city wall. Ward was utterly reckless of danger. He had often been hit, but he had always recovered well from his wounds. His Chinese troops thought he could not be killed by bullets, and Ward encouraged his men to believe that he bore a charmed life. In conversation with his officers he had often said: "The bullet is not made which will kill me." His officers and his friends

were more skeptical than his Chinese troops and they had warned him time and again of the risks he was taking. Augustus Allen Hayes, who knew him well, met him in Shanghai just before he set out for Ningpo.

"On a day late in September, 1862," says Hayes, "I looked up from my desk to see him standing beside me. I could not think of this smiling, amiable man as a great commander and future ruler. I only remembered that when I, a few months before, lay sick of that terrible Shanghai fever, he had taken time from his cares and duties to come and sit by a young countryman's bedside. He asked me to lend him my Arab horse, which of course I was glad to do.

"Later in the afternoon, walking in a street of the settlement, I met him, sitting erect in the saddle, riding my gray Arab. We stopped, and I was patting my horse's neck and talking to the General. Knowing that on the morrow he was to direct an assault at the town of Ningpo, the impulse seized me to speak to him as I did. 'General,' I said, 'you are taking fearful risks. You may be killed at any moment. In such case, what will become of your property and affairs? Let me find you a confidential secretary, or some one in whose hands you can place your great interests.'

"His blue coat was buttoned closely across his chest. He smiled as he designated with his right hand the outline of a little book in his left breast pocket, and replied, 'It is all there.' "

Ward was no man to dwell on dangers. Hayes' warning had little effect on him. At Yu-Yao and Tsz'ki he was in the thick of the battle, acting as if he fully believed that

no rebel bullet could kill him. Before the walls of Tsz'ki he stood with Forrester calmly discussing the details of the attack which was to begin in a few minutes. The Taiping riflemen on the walls were keeping up a hot fire. All around Ward rose little spurts of dust where the bullets hit the ground. Suddenly he put his hand to his abdomen, turned to Forrester and said:

"I have been hit."

Ward sank to the ground. Forrester made a hasty examination of the wound and found that it was serious. The bullet had entered in front, between the second and third lower buttons of the waistcoat. Forrester ordered him carried to the rear at once. This was much against Ward's wishes, for he meant to take part in the battle. Forrester gave orders to carry out the attack as planned by Ward. As Ward was being carried off the field he met the storming party going into action, and said to its leader, Captain Cooke:

"You must do it with a rush, or we shall fail. They are very numerous."

He was carried to the rear as the scaling ladders were placed against the walls. There was a moat around the city, and this stopped the force for a moment. The ladders were thrown across the moat, and when the men had crossed, were drawn over and placed against the walls. Ward's men swarmed up the ladders, led by Cooke and Macanaya. The Taipings fought bravely and drove them back. Cooke rallied them at once and renewed the attack. This time the city was taken, hundreds of rebels were slain, and the rest were sent in full flight away from Ningpo.

Ward was taken on board the *Hardy* and put in a cot swung from the mizzen boom of the ship. First aid was given him, but very little could be done. The regular medical officer of the *Hardy* was not on board, for he had been with the missing extra company which the gunboat was to have taken on the night before. As soon as the rebels had been driven out of Tsz'ki the *Hardy* started for Ningpo under full steam.

Ward was half-conscious and suffered a great deal from the trembling of the ship. Lieutenant Bogle knew something about wounds. He saw that Ward's condition was serious. After a consultation with Forrester, the British lieutenant approached Ward's cot and tried to get the dying man to think about his worldly concerns.

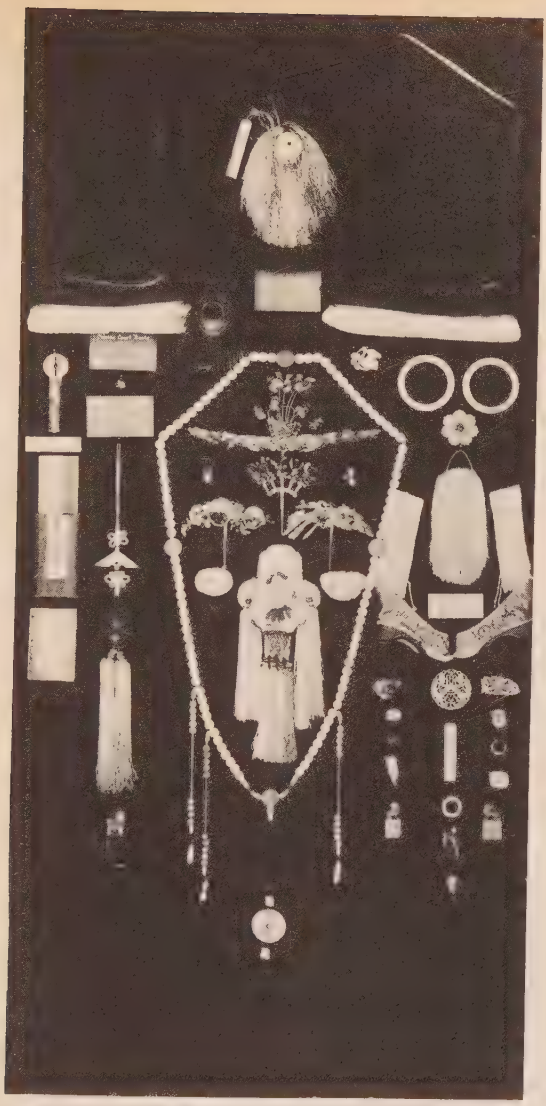
"General," he said, "you are in a bad way. What about your property? Have you made a will?"

With an effort Ward rallied out of his coma. He mumbled something about the Ever Victorious Army, and asked that Forrester be made its leader. The dying man gathered all his strength and forced his mind to dwell upon the money affairs which before this had concerned him so little. He said: "Taotai of Shanghai owes me hundred and ten thousand taels. Taki thirty thousand taels. Total hundred forty thousand taels. I want my wife—Chang Mei—have fifty thousand. All rest between my brother and sister. I want Hope and Burlingame be executors."

Ward said no more. His will was put in writing by Lieutenant Bogle, and witnessed by the lieutenant and his boatswain, John Colter.

At Ningpo Ward was attended by Dr. Irwin, the senior surgeon of the *Encounter*. Dr. Irwin found that the bul-

let had passed through Ward's abdomen, and was lying imbedded in the muscles of the back. It was easily extracted. That evening Ward was moved to the hospital of the British Mission house at Ningpo where he could have a comfortable bed, and the attention of the resident physician. His mind wandered. At intervals he came to consciousness, and suffered intense agony. Before morning he was dead.



—On display at the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

WARD'S RELICS

Top, Ward's Mandarin hat with peacock feather and his court boots.

Below, Jewelry and ornaments in jade, enamel and characteristic Chinese Kingfisher feather inlay worn by Mrs. Ward, and Mrs. Ward's golden lily shoes.

VIII. GOLD AND SAINTHOOD

BEFORE Ward's body was cold the jackals had gathered. His lieutenants and his superiors were quarrelling about the command of the Ever Victorious Army. His officers made away with his personal effects. His backers were scheming to withhold the money due him. The captain of the *Confucius* even made difficulties about taking Ward's body to its resting place at Sungkiang.

"Early the next morning," says Forrester, "I ordered his body conveyed on board the *Confucius* that we might reach Shanghai at the earliest possible moment. For some reason the commander of the boat, Captain Don Lynch, did not want to go and was insubordinate in manner. By nine o'clock we were ten miles out at sea. Then Lynch came on the hurricane deck and reported that we were out of coal. As we had come from a coaling station and Lynch flatly refused to give an explanation, I had him put in irons, and turned over the command of the boat to Lieutenant Ludlum. We were then in such a strong current that I gave up hope of getting the steamer back to Ning-Po, determining rather to work our way to a port near Shanghai. We had no other resource but to tear away the upper works of the boat and use them for fuel. We also

fed into the furnaces fifty barrels of pork that were stored in the hold, and managed to keep up a fair head of steam, until by the middle of the afternoon we reached Oosong and ran alongside a British ship flying Dent and Company's flag. I knew this firm to be warm supporters of the Imperial Government and so had no hesitancy in boarding the vessel and obtaining a supply of coal with which she was ballasted.

"At Shanghai Lynch took his departure from China and soon became a figure of international importance while serving as lieutenant on the Confederate privateer *Alabama* under Commodore Semmes."

When the news of Ward's death reached Sungkiang the town mourned as if all had lost a near relation. The body arrived at Sungkiang in the forenoon, and when it was taken into the city all the shops were closed in honor of the dead hero. The whole garrison of Sungkiang and all the civil dignitaries of the city attended the funeral. Ward's officers wore crepe on their tunics. The soldiers had their queues plaited with white tape, the Chinese sign of mourning. The body was borne to the grave by sailors from Sir James Hope's command, at the head of a great procession of civil and military officers. The band played the "Dead March in Saul." A British naval chaplain read the funeral service. Salutes to a general were fired by the artillery and the infantry, while officers and men-at-arms of all nationalities represented in Shanghai stood at attention.

Ward was buried in the compound of the Confucian temple at Sungkiang, an extraordinary honor for a foreigner. The coffin was placed on the ground and a tumulus

of earth raised over it. The temple which Ward had won from the Taiping rebels, and near which he had had his headquarters for two years, thus became his last resting place. There his body still lies, honored by the Chinese people.

Ward was deeply regretted by his European and American associates. Lieutenant Bogle of the *Hardy* said in reporting Ward's death to Admiral Sir James Hope: "It is now my painful duty to inform you that General Ward, while directing the assault, fell, mortally wounded. The *Hardy* brought him down the same evening to Ning Po, and he died the next morning. . . . During a short acquaintance with General Ward I have learned to appreciate him much, and I fear his death will cast a gloom over the Imperial cause in China, of which he was the stay and prop."

Admiral Hope in his dispatch to Anson Burlingame, the American Minister in Pekin, wrote: "I am sure you will be much grieved to hear of poor Ward's death. The Chinese government have lost a very able and gallant servant, who has rendered them much faithful service, and whom it will not be easy for them to replace."

Li Hung-chang, too, was moved to the point where he was willing to tell the Emperor of Ward's services. Before this he had been grudging in his praise of Ward, feeling, no doubt, that minor luminaries should not be permitted to dim the glory of Li Hung-chang. But now that Ward had been killed, he could afford to be generous, and he memorialized the throne, suggesting that honors to the dead hero be decreed by the Emperor.

"Li Hung-chang, Governor of Kiangsu, on the sixth

day of the intercalary eighth moon, in the first year of the reign of Tung Chih, memorializes the Throne. . . . It appears that General Ward is a citizen of New York in the United States, who in the tenth year of the reign of Hien Fung came to China. Afterwards he was employed by Wu, Taotai of Shanghai, to take command of a contingent of men from India to follow the regular army in the attack on Kiating and Taitsang, and twice to the capture of Sungkiang, as well as to the repeated attack on Tsingpu, where, leading his officers and men, he was several times seriously wounded. Later, after the contingent of men of India had by an Imperial decree been dismissed, Ward petitioned the Taotai stating that he was willing to become a Chinese subject, whereupon Wu, Taotai, retained him and gave him command of the *Ever Victorious Army*, to support the Imperial troops in the defense of Sungkiang. In the first moon of the present year Ward defeated, with 500 troops, above 100,000 rebels at Ying-Kia-ping, Tien-Mashan, and other places in the prefecture of Sungkiang. Thus with a few he overcame the many; a meritorious deed that is very rare. Again he arranged the destruction of the rebel fortifications at Kaokiao, Sian-tiang, Chaopoo, Nankiao, Tselin, Wang-kiatze and Lung-chuan, having the coöperation of British and French troops. From a petition of Wu it appears that in the early part of spring of the present year, Sungkiang and Shanghai were threatened by the rebels, and that the turning away of the danger and the maintenance of tranquillity in those places was chiefly due to the exertions of Ward.

"By Imperial favor he was repeatedly promoted—from

—*Courtesy Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.*

THE TEMPLE AT SUNG KIANG

Chinese and European officials at the dedication of the temple erected to the manes of General Ward, May 10, 1877.

the fourth rank with the peacock's feather to the decorations of the third rank, again to the rank of titulary Futsiang, and again to Futsiang gazetted for employment in office; and praise was repeatedly bestowed on him by your Majesty's decree. From the time of the arrival of Your Majesty's Minister Li Hung-chang, at Shanghai, to take charge of affairs . . . Ward, was in all respects obedient to the orders he received, and whether he received orders to harass the city of Kinshwanei or to force back the rebels at Linho, he was everywhere successful. Still further, he bent all his energy on the recapture of Tsingpu, and was absorbed in a plan for sweeping away the rebels from Soochow. Such loyalty and valor, issuing from his natural disposition, is extraordinary when compared with these virtues of the best officers of China; and among foreign officers it is not easy to find one worthy of equal honor.

"Your Majesty's Minister, Li Hung-chang, has already ordered Wu and others to deck Ward's body with a Chinese uniform, to provide good sepulture, and to bury him at Sungkiang, in order to complete the recompense for his valiant defense of the Dynasty. General Ward's military services at Sungkiang and Ningpo are conspicuous. At this time he lost his life by a wound from a musket ball. We owe him our respect, and our deep regret. It is appropriate, therefore, to entreat that your Gracious Majesty do order the Board of Rites to take into consideration suitable posthumous rewards to be bestowed on him, Ward; and that both at Ningpo and at Sungkiang sacrificial altars be erected to appease the manes of this loyal man."

Twelve days later an edict was issued in the name of the Emperor reciting that: "Li Hung-chang in a memorial has acquainted Us of the death of General Ward, who perished from the effects of a bullet wound received at the capture of Tsz'ki, and has asked Our sanction for the building of a temple to him as a sincere expression of Our sorrow at his death. Ward was a native of the United States of America. Having desired to become a Chinese subject, and offered his services to Us, he joined the Imperial troops at Shanghai and took Kiating, Taitsang, Sungkiang, and later defeated the rebels at Ying Kia-ping, Tien-Mashan, and other parts, in the district of Sungkiang. He also, in company with other foreign officers, destroyed the rebel fortifications at Kaokiao and elsewhere. We, admiring his repeated victories, had been pleased to confer upon him special marks of Our favor.

"According to the present memorial of Li Hung-chang, Ward, having learned of the designs upon Ningpo of the Chekiang rebels who were in possession of Tsz'ki, at once advanced with the Ever Victorious Army to destroy them. While in person directing his troops to scale the walls he was fatally wounded in the chest by a rebel bullet fired from the top of the city wall. The bullet came out through his back. It grew dark to the general instantly, and he fell. The city of Tsz'ki was already taken by his Ever Victorious Army. Ward returned to Ningpo, where he died of his wound the next day.

"We have read the memorial, and feel that General Ward, a man of heroic disposition, a soldier without dishonor, deserves Our commendation and compassion. Li Hung-chang has already ordered Wu-Shi and others to

attend to the proper rites of sepulture, and We now direct the two prefects that special temples to his memory be built at Ningpo and Sungkiang. Let this matter still be submitted to the Board of Rites, who will propose to Us further honors so as to show Our extraordinary consideration towards him, and also that his loyal spirit may rest in peace. This from the Emperor. Respect it."

The edict was signed by the boy Emperor, Tung Chih, then in his eighth year. The real author, however, was the "Old Buddha," the Dowager Empress, Tze Hsi, who through the *coup d'etat* of November 2, 1861, had become one of the two Empresses Regent, and the real ruler of China. It is written in her characteristic style. The "Old Buddha" issued many edicts on the Taiping Rebellion, and she took not a little credit to herself for its suppression. In one of her edicts, issued under the Emperor's signature, she does not hesitate to say that the victory over the Taipings was "due to the bountiful protection of Heaven, to the ever present help of Our ancestors, and the foresight and wisdom of the Empresses Regent."

The American Minister, Anson Burlingame, forwarded translations of Li Hung-chang's memorial and the Imperial edict to President Lincoln, with the following letter:

Legation of the United States,
Peking, October 27, 1862.

"Sir:—It is my painful duty to inform you of the death of General Ward, an American, who had risen by his capacity and courage to the highest rank in the Chinese service. He was shot and mortally wounded while recon-

noitering before its capture, Tsz'ki, a place near Ningpo.

"General Ward was originally from Salem, Massachusetts, where he has relatives still living, and had seen service in Mexico, the Crimea, and, he was sorry to say, with the notorious Walker.

"He fought at the head of a Chinese force called into existence and trained by himself, countless battles, and always with success.

"Indeed, he taught the Chinese their strength, and laid the foundations of the only force with which their government can hope to defeat the rebellion. . . .

"General Ward was a man of great wealth, and in a letter to me, the last probably he ever wrote, he proposed through me to contribute ten thousand taels to the government of the United States, to aid in maintaining the Union, but before I could respond to his patriotic letter he died.

"Let this wish, though unexecuted, find worthy record in the archives of his native land, to show that neither self-exile nor foreign service, nor the incidents of a stormy life, could extinguish from the breast of this wandering child of the republic the fires of a truly loyal heart.

"After Ward's death, fearing that his force might dissolve and be lost to the cause of order, I hastened by express to inform the Chinese government of my desire that an American might be selected to fill his place, and was so fortunate, against considerable opposition, as to secure the appointment of Colonel Burgevine.

"He had taken part, with Ward, in all the conflicts, and common fame spoke well of him.

"Mr. Bruce, the British minister, as far as I know, did

not antagonize me, and the gallant Sir James Hope favored the selection of Burgevine. Others did not.

"I felt that it was no more than fair that an American should command the foreign-trained Chinese on land, as the English, through Osborne, would command the same quality of force on sea. Do not understand by the above that in this, or in any case, I have pushed the American interests to the extent of angry disagreement. On the contrary, by the avowal of an open and friendly policy, and proceeding on the declaration that the interests of the western nations are identical, I have been met by the representatives of the other treaty powers in a corresponding spirit, and we are now working together in a sincere effort to strengthen the cause of civilization in the east.

"I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

Anson Burlingame."

President Lincoln sent a copy of these papers to the United States Senate on February 6th, 1863, in response to a resolution introduced by Senator Sumner. Secretary of State William H. Seward replied to Minister Burlingame:

"You will express to Prince Kung the President's sincere satisfaction with the honors which the Emperor of China has decreed to be paid to the memory of our distinguished fellow-citizen. He fell while illustrating the fame of his country in an untried, distant and perilous field. His too early death will, therefore, be deeply mourned by the American People."

The Emperor's edict and his submission of Ward's case to the Board of Rites, conferred upon Ward the highest

honors ever given by the Chinese to an American or a European. However, the Imperial orders were never fully carried out, nor was the Board of Rites permitted to suggest further honors for Ward. What these honors might have been will never be known, but judging from Chinese precedent one may imagine what they might have been. They would probably have consisted, among other things, of the ennobling of Ward and all his ancestors. Ward's father, who survived his son three years, would then have become a Chinese nobleman, and the graves in Harmony Grove, Salem, bearing the names of the Ward family, might have been marked with seals attesting the right of these New England worthies to wear Confucian honors in the Land of Shades.

These things were not to be. Not that the Chinese were unwilling to carry them out, as some have cynically suggested. A minor official of the American Legation at Peking conceived a notion that these honors to Ward smacked of heathenism, and he went over the heads of the American Minister, the Secretary of State, and of President Lincoln himself to put a stop to the business. This man was the Rev. Samuel Welles Williams, a former missionary. Dr. Williams was the author of *The Middle Kingdom*. He was distinguished for his knowledge of things Chinese, but distinguished also by the bias and the assumed superiority which has permitted western nations to despise the customs and religions of China. The Rev. Mr. Williams said that these Confucian honors to Ward were no fitting memorials to the career of a Christian. He took it upon himself to tell the Tsungli Yamen, the Chinese foreign office, that he "had reverently read the gra-

cious edict which added to the glory of a foreign country, and which was most deeply appreciated, but that foreigners, in commemorating heroism, generally build a large sepulchre and erect a stone monument as a beautiful memorial, and that the building of temples to the dead and the offering of sacrifices the foreigners do not consider an honor."

The Chinese, with their usual courtesy to the views and opinions of others, readily agreed to all this. The Empress Dowager, in the Emperor's name, issued another edict ordering Li Hung-chang to proceed as Dr. Williams had suggested, to build a large tumulus over Ward's grave, and to erect a stone upon which the Imperial edict should be engraved.

There the matter rested for fifteen years. Poor Ward's spirit had to be satisfied with its mound of earth and its stone.

In 1877 Li Hung-chang and the Tsungli Yamen decided to go back to the original plan of honoring Ward and to build at least one temple to his memory. The temple was consecrated on May 10th, 1877. The following account of the temple's consecration is from the *North-China Mail:*

"The dedication of the Tsze-t'ang, or Memorial Hall, recently erected by Feng, Taotai of Shanghai, at Sung-kiang, in commemoration of the late General Ward, of the Ever Victorious Army, was performed on Saturday, with religious rites, in accordance with Chinese custom. The Taotai had, through the United States Consul-General, expressed his intention of conducting the ceremony himself, and requested that a limited number of invita-

tions should be given to persons interested. The Customs' cruiser *Kwashing*, Captain Anderson, was prepared to convey His Excellency and his guests, and seven A.M. was the hour fixed to commence the trip. . . .

"By the time breakfast was over, the vessel had sped considerably beyond the well-known Seven-mile Reach; and presently Ming-hong was sighted, nearly opposite to which is the creek leading to Nai-jow (Nanchiao), the scene of the fight in which the French Admiral Protet . . . received his death wound. . . .

"There not being sufficient depth of water in the Sungkiang creek to float the *Kwashing*, she was anchored off its mouth, and some Chinese houseboats and a couple of steam-launches, provided by the Taotai's directions, were brought alongside. The passengers being transshipped to the houseboats, were soon spinning up the creek, towed by one of the steam launches, the distance to the city of Sungkiang from the river, being about four miles. The creek becomes very narrow as the city is neared, and is spanned not far from the walls by one of those light-looking, picturesque stone bridges for the construction of which the Chinese are famous. Here, on both banks, the people had assembled in large numbers, and it soon became evident that the sight of so many foreigners together was a novelty to them, and the Taotai's bodyguard were useful in clearing a way along the bank to where some dozen or so of sedans with bearers were in waiting for the guests. The Taotai and others having taken their seats, the procession moved off amid the banging of crackers and bombs, and the animated gesticulations of the people,

numbers of whom kept up with it to the scene of the day's ceremony. . . .

"The Memorial Hall was at length reached, surrounded by a low wall of considerable extent, and entered by a gateway in the usual joss-house style. Immediately opposite the open front stands the shrine containing the memorial tablet of the deceased General, blue in colour with the inscription in gold. Facing this are two small square tower-like structures, on which are other inscriptions testifying to the merits of the deceased and stating that the Memorial Hall was erected by Feng Taotai, by Imperial command."

> These inscriptions have been translated: A wonderful hero from beyond the seas, the fame of whose deserving loyalty reaches round the world, has sprinkled China with his azure blood.
>
> A happy seat among the clouds and temples standing for a thousand springs make known to all his faithful heart.

"Passing round the back of the shrine, a large space is reached, in the center of which is the stone that used to mark the site of the grave. The surrounding space is thickly planted with young trees and shrubs.

"At the Hall, the Taotai was met and greeted by the magistrates of the district of Sungkiang. A number of other officials of lesser grade were present, and numerous soldiers, in addition to the Taotai's bodyguard, thronged the compound. The greeting over, the Taotai led the way to the shrine, and both he and the other dignitaries then donned their official robes. Although it was broad day-

light, twelve lighted lamps were suspended from the roof, eight in one row and one at each of the four corners of the shrine. Besides these, there were four large red-wax candles burning, and incense-sticks slowly smouldering. The ceremony being one of sacrifice, there were offered to the manes of the deceased the entire carcase of a goat, and a large pig, a small roasted pig, a ham, seven pairs of ducks, pairs of fowls, etc., and about twenty dishes of fruits, confectionery, and vegetables, these being also in pairs.

"The Taotai and the two district magistrates being fully attired, they advanced to the front of the shrine, and in obedience to the direction of a sort of master of ceremonies the Taotai commenced the oblation by offering several small cups of wine, which were deposited on a shelf in front of the tablet. Then, all three kneeling, the Taotai stretched forth his hands towards the tablet, and offered the food, the mandarins subsequently bowing their heads nine times to the ground. A little music was played, and the ceremony, which scarcely occupied twenty minutes, was concluded by loud discharges of fireworks and the crash of gongs. It cannot be said to have been impressive, though its novelty and picturesqueness were beyond dispute; but it was interesting from the fact of its being intended to honour the memory of a foreigner, and including precisely the same observance awarded in the case of high Chinese officials.

"At the conclusion of the ceremony, the whole of the food-offerings were packed away in boxes, slung on poles, and taken back to the ship, thence to be re-conveyed to the Taotai's yamen. . . .

"On the return passage down the creek, the Taotai read from a paper the following statement: . . . 'I remember the rescript in the *Peking Gazette* of how the late Emperor regretted General Ward's death. At that time I was only a Chuyen, (a second class literary degree), and did not know I should ever be Taotai of Shanghai and live to take part in the dedication of a temple to Ward's memory. When Ward came to China it was thought in this district that the whole country would have been lost to the rebels —that, in fact, it could not be recovered. But owing to the exertions of Ward, the rebels were defeated and the country saved. The cities and places that were captured were Kiating, Taitsang, Sungkiang, Ming-liu-ping, Tienmashan, Kaokiao, Siaou Tsange, Tung-chau, Chapoo, Tselin, Wang-Kiatze,—all these being retaken by Ward before Li Hung-chang came on the scene. After Li came into these districts Ward retook Kin-shan-Wei, Pin-ho, Tsingpu, and Tsz'ki. The greatest credit was therefore due to General Ward, as nearly all those places were recaptured by him long before Li Hung-chang came here. The name of General Ward was such a terror that whenever the rebels heard that he was coming, they ran away without fighting. General Ward's idea was to go straight on to Soo-Chow, and retake that city; but before going there he marched to Ningpo, and at Tsz'ki, a little town about fifteen miles distant from Ningpo, he was shot by the enemy. His Chinese clothes were changed for foreign ones at Ningpo, where he died, his body being brought to Sungkiang for burial. The Imperial intention is to build two large temples to his memory—one at Sungkiang and

the other at Tsz'ki where he received his death wound, and in each of which his statue will be placed.'

"In conclusion, the Taotai said, in answer to a question by Mr. Consul-General Myers, that the sole credit of Shanghai not having been taken by the rebels, was due to General Ward."

These ceremonies, and the temple raised in his honor, made Ward a saint in the Confucian calendar. It is a curious fact that it was Asia which canonized this first of North-American saints. "It was reserved for Salem, erst the home of witches, to produce the first American saint," says the missionary, Rev. Daniel Jerome Macgowan. Dr. Macgowan had forgotten the South American, St. Rose of Lima, spiritual patron of the New World.

The memory of Frederick Townsend Ward, the Yankee hero-saint, is still honored by the Chinese people. His grave and his temple have not been neglected. Forty years after his death the temple erected to him was visited by the Chinese interpreter of the American Legation in Peking. He found evidences of recent sacrificial offerings. Frederick Ward Post, No. I, of the American Legion at Shanghai, visited the temple at Sungkiang on Memorial Sunday, May 29th, 1921. More than a hundred Americans made the pilgrimage. They were met at Sungkiang by a group of American residents, and by a committee of Chinese. There were speeches and religious services at the shrine. The services were directed by two missionaries stationed at Sungkiang, and these expressed the hope that what they did at the temple would be appropriate to the Sabbath Day. There was an oration over the dead in American Memorial Day style. A wreath was laid on the

TUNG-CHIH

A portrait of China's boy Emperor at the time of Ward's military operations. Drawn by a Chinese artist.

grave, and three volleys fired over it by the marine firing squad of the U.S.S. *Huron.*

Miss Elizabeth Ward, a maiden lady who taught in a Chinese Sunday School in Boston, was deeply touched by the honors paid her brother. But she was distressed because the Chinese had given no accounting of her brother's estate, and had never paid the 140,000 taels which he had named on his deathbed as the sum due him. Ward's Chinese wife, who survived him less than a year, had got nothing. His father and brother had tried to get the Chinese to pay. Both had failed. Ward's father died in 1865. His brother died in 1867. Elizabeth Ward became the sole heir of her brother's claim against the Chinese government. She thought the Chinese government ought to pay its money debts.

Miss Ward, for all her maiden reserve and her New England conservatism, was a determined woman, and she made up her mind that the Chinese should pay. It took her forty years to make them do it. The Chinese government did not refuse to pay, but it looked to the men who had charge of the finances of the Ever Victorious Army to settle its bills. These men, Wu, the Taotai of Shanghai, and the banker Taki, Ward's father-in-law, were a choice pair of rogues according to those who knew them. A Chinese writer on the Taiping rebellion says that Wu and Taki, after Ward's death, were devoting to their own commercial speculations the funds of the Ever Victorious Army. Li Hung-chang caught them and removed them from office. Wu retired to his native place at Hangchow. Taki invested his immense fortune in the foreign settle-

ment of Shanghai, and there protected by the extraterritorial laws he lived out the rest of his days safe from molestation by the Chinese authorities. Nothing could be done with these worthies.

Some curious stories have been told of the disappearance of Ward's personal effects. An inventory of his property and memoranda of the money due him were supposed to have been written in the pocketbook which he carried, and of which he spoke to Augustus Allen Hayes the day before he left Shanghai for Ningpo. This book had disappeared and no bit of evidence could be found to prove that Ward had owned anything, or that Taki or the Taotai of Shanghai owed him money. Augustus Allen Hayes says he was one of the arbitrators selected to present the claims of Ward's estate. When he demanded that Taki and Wu pay, he was told that they thought "Wah (Ward) a very great man indeed, but, by the blessed memory of Confucius, he did but jest when he spoke of their owing him money."

Six or seven years later Hayes stopped at Ningpo on a journey from Hong Kong to Shanghai. "At Ning Po," he says, "one of the callers on board the ship was an ex-officer of Ward's army. It occurred to me to ask him if he knew what became of the little book. 'I can tell you!' said he, taking me aside, 'I was guarding the general's body. The blue coat which you remember lay on a chair, and the book was in the breast pocket. The colonel who was my superior officer relieved me. The book was never seen again, but I saw Colonel ——— buy exchange for 40,000 dollars.'"

The death of General Ward was thus curiously clouded

by the acts of his officers and of his employers. Ward's sister kept trying to get the money from the Chinese government, but it appeared that all her brother's property in cash, lands, houses, gunboats, and the money owed by his employers had gone into the other world with him.

Miss Ward continued to press her brother's claim, working through one consul after another, hiring one firm of lawyers after another. Nothing happened. Consuls moved on to other posts. Lawyers died or tired of the case. In 1896, when Li Hung-chang visited New York, Miss Ward went to see him about the claim. The great viceroy said some nice things about her brother, but he did nothing. Still Miss Ward kept on. In 1902, just forty years after her brother's death, she was fortunate enough to get the services of the distinguished international lawyers and diplomats, John W. Foster and Robert Lansing, later Secretary of State. Foster and Lansing got up a printed memorial on the Ward claim which would enable Chinese officials to acquaint themselves with its merits.

The memorial recounted the services of Ward to the Chinese government. It revealed the fact that: "When the Chinese officials declared that there were no revenues to maintain his soldiers, he unhesitatingly used the money which he received as a recompense for his own services, relying upon the ultimate success of the Imperialists and the good faith of the Chinese government to be refunded the sums thus advanced."

Ward had asked that Admiral Hope and Minister Anson Burlingame be his executors. Sir James and Mr. Burlingame excused themselves. It was finally agreed that

Albert L. Freeman, of H. Fogg & Co., an American commercial house at Shanghai, should be administrator of the estate. Mr. Freeman entered upon his duties by demanding 140,000 taels of the two officials named in General Ward's statement. They acknowledged the indebtedness but asked that payment be deferred as they were short of funds. This was not an unreasonable request. The Ever Victorious Army was still in the field at the time, and its maintenance required large expenditures.

A board of arbitrators was then appointed, and on March 3d, 1863, they rendered their decision that General Ward's estate was entitled to 110,000 taels. The 30,000 owed by Taki was a private debt, and so did not come within their jurisdiction. Both Wu and Taki admitted the debt in open court, but from time to time claimed various offsets of moneys used by Ward to buy clothing and equipment for his men. They first claimed an offset of 10,000 taels, then one of $34,000, and finally 120,000 taels.

The Foster and Lansing memorial pointed out that the increase of offsets by the Taotai and Taki from 10,000 taels to $34,000, and then from $34,000 to 120,000 taels, cast grave suspicion on their good faith and integrity. Wu and Taki were also refusing to pay several other claims made by merchants who had supplied the Ever Victorious Army. They demanded that all the bills owed by the Ever Victorious Army be submitted to arbitrators. At the second arbitration Wu raised the amount of the offsets by 270,000 taels, which he claimed to have advanced to Ward's brother for buying supplies and steamers. He had made no mention of this before. To substantiate this claim

Wu produced what purported to be a receipt given by General Ward. It was written in Chinese and signed with a "chop." (A "chop" is a seal or stamp.) As Ward had never been known to use a "chop" and as he did not write or read the Chinese language, the paper was rejected as evidence.

The arbitrators again found in favor of Ward, but they did not fix the amount of the claim. Their decision was rejected by the Taotai as well as by the Ward family. The case was then laid before Minister Anson Burlingame. The Minister and Dr. S. Wells Williams, secretary of the American Legation in Peking, investigated the claim, found it justified, and got an agreement from the Chinese government to pay. The government asked that the disposition of 270,000 taels paid to Ward's brother in the United States for the purchase of steamboats, be explained. It was agreed that this sum was in no way a claim against Ward's estate, but the executors wished to have it explained to the satisfaction of the Chinese government. This was accomplished in 1868. In the meantime Ward's father and brother had both died.

Some time later Minister Burlingame, who had persistently urged the Chinese government to settle the Ward claim, also died. George F. Seward became minister at Peking and he urged the government to pay, but here he was met by the new defense, which ignored all the evidence, that there were no proofs of the claim. The Tsungli Yamen said that "in money transactions documentary evidence alone can be regarded as proof."

Taki and Wu had done good business in buying the

little black account book which the mysterious colonel had taken from Ward's pocket.

In 1880 the claim of the Ward estate was again presented to the Chinese government by Minister Angell. The government fell back upon the ground that documentary evidence must be produced. The following year Mr. Angell presented the Ward claim again. He was met by Prince Kung, head of the Chinese foreign office, with a repetition of the defense as to documentary evidence, and with a statement entirely new. Prince Kung said: "Ward asked for a gratuity of 20,000 taels for each place recovered. And when Tsingpu was re-taken he asked for another 10,000 taels. Wu, Taotai, and the others answered that, as they were already short of funds for the army, it would be exceedingly difficult. . . . They said, wait till we have a succession of military successes, we will abundantly recommend your services. This, then, is the ground on which the claim for 110,000 taels is based, the mere utterance by Ward of his hope (that he would get the money) and not a recognized obligation that has been left unfulfilled."

"It seems strange," the Foster and Lansing memorial says, "that this extraordinary explanation of General Ward's dying statement was never offered until nineteen years after his death, although Prince Kung had been at the head of the Foreign Office throughout that period. If either Wu or Taki, the Commissioner of Revenue, had had this conversation, it is incomprehensible why it was not offered by them among the other excuses which they made to the payment of the claim. Taki died about 1866 and Wu in 1873, yet this alleged foundation of the Ward

Estate Claim was not advanced until eight years after the Taotai's death. In any event, this statement as given by Prince Kung is a virtual admission of the merits of General Ward's claim."

After recounting the muddled history of the Ward claim, Foster and Lansing concluded that, "it is hardly becoming the Government of the United States to allow the reputation of one of its distinguished citizens to be clouded by neglect and by failure to have his just dues recognized. The Emperor of China was doubtless sincere in the edict, which he published to the world, recognizing General Ward's great services to his country, and decreeing posthumous honors to his memory; but the debt which China owes to this gallant soldier will not be fully paid till the pecuniary obligation is satisfied."

The happy ending of this tale is told by Mr. Foster. He says:

"I soon saw that my only hope of success was in securing its payment out of the Boxer Indemnity Fund, and it was apparent that the Secretary of State would not be warranted in making such payment without the consent of the Chinese Government. To this task I addressed myself. Fortunately I had influential acquaintances in the Government at Peking, and by an appeal to their national pride and sense of justice and gratitude their consent was obtained to this method of settlement, and an agreement was reached between the two governments for the payment of the claim from the indemnity fund. I gained quite a reputation for my success, but it was due rather to a fortuitous concurrence of favoring circumstances—a

just and painstaking Secretary of State in Washington and personal friends at Peking."

The Ward claim was settled by the Chinese Government in 1902, just forty years after Ward's death. Foster does not say how much the Chinese government paid, but he estimated that the value in American money of the 110,000 taels due Ward was $200,000.

Since the money came from the Boxer Indemnity Fund it was fitting that some of it should go to furthering the cause of understanding between the United States and China. And this is what happened. Miss Elizabeth Ward, at her death, bequeathed to the Essex Institute in Salem $10,000. One thousand dollars of this fund was to be used for providing a suitable room for a Chinese library, and the interest on the remainder to be applied to the purchase of books about China. With this fund the Essex Institute has created one of the best small Chinese libraries in the country. The Ward room in the Essex Institute is the sole memorial in America to the hero of Sungkiang.

IX. AFTER WARD

THE organizing ability and military genius of General Ward are shown up in bright colors by the history of the Ever Victorious Army after that tragic morning at Tsz'ki. From the moment of his death the force was involved in quarrels and disagreements which threatened every few months to break it up. Through all these vicissitudes great efforts were made to hold the force together, for both Chinese and Europeans saw that in it Ward had forged the right instrument for the protection of Shanghai.

Ward's death was so severe a blow to the Imperial cause, that many of the Manchu leaders ascribed it to a special malignancy of fate. Some of them believed that Ward had been killed by Europeans. Prince Kung, brother of the Emperor Hien Fung, complained bitterly to Minister Anson Burlingame that foreigners were responsible for Ward's death. Prince Kung's statement was believed for a time, until it was proved that there were no foreigners in the Taiping service around Ningpo.

It was difficult for the Imperialist authorities to find another commander who could take Ward's place with the Ever Victorious Army. Li Hung-chang reflected that "It is sad to know that the right kind of commander to suc-

ceed Ward has not been found, although several have been tried. Ward was an energetic fighter, and if he could only have lived there would be great benefits resulting to the Imperial cause and many honors for himself. In all places where he was in charge he was almost sure of victory, and the Long-Hairs began to fear his name alone."

For many of the troubles of the Ever Victorious Army after Ward's death Li Hung-chang himself was not a little to blame. Li, from the time he arrived in Shanghai in 1862, considered himself the real commander of the force. But Ward was then so firmly established that Li had to respect him. Not so with Ward's successors. After Ward's death Li offered the command to Colonel Forrester. Forrester returned to Ningpo in October 1862, with five hundred of the Ever Victorious Army and fought one action. After that most of the men were sent back to Shanghai, while a hundred of them remained at Ningpo to form the nucleus of a force modeled on Ward's army. This force was still in existence in the 70's, according to Dr. Daniel Jerome Macgowan, and was commanded by Colonel Cooke, the officer who led the attack on Tsz'ki the day Ward was killed.

Forrester was too much broken in health to continue as the Commander of the Ever Victorious Army. He resigned shortly after his appointment. There was some bickering about his successor. Li Hung-chang, who was making friendship with the British one of the stepping stones of his career, wanted an English officer. The Ever Victorious Army wanted Burgevine, and so did United States Minister Anson Burlingame. Pressed by the Army

and by the American Legation, Li Hung-chang appointed Burgevine. It was soon evident that Burgevine was to get nowhere, and that American participation in the suppression of the Taiping rebellion was a thing of the past. The British assumed the dominant rôle. The Imperialists had bought a war fleet in England, and this, officered by British sailors, and commanded by a British naval captain, was to fight the rebels on the Yangtze. General Stavely, with two thousand British and Indian troops took the lead in operations on land. A British officer, Captain John Yate Holland, of the Marines, was forced upon Burgevine as military secretary and understudy.

The Ever Victorious Army took the field under Burgevine in October 1862, and played a brilliant part in the retaking of Kiating. It fought another action under him at Paokiang, near Tsingpu, in the middle of November, against one of the favorite generals of the Loyal King. Li Hung-chang took all the credit for these victories to himself. This caused a rift between Li and Burgevine. Chen Siaoki, the leader of the Kiangsu Imperial troops, did his best to widen the rift because of his jealousy of Burgevine.

After the battle of Paokiang, Li Hung-chang, as director of military forces for the province of Kiangsu, ordered the Ever Victorious Army to prepare for an expedition against Nanking. It was an impossible order. Foreign military authorities in Shanghai said it was not safe for so small a force to undertake such an expedition. Further, the troops had not been paid a cent since Burgevine took command, and they were in an ugly mood. Burgevine applied to Taki for the pay due his

men. Taki told him the mandarins would pay nothing until the return of the army from Nanking.

When Burgevine returned to Sungkiang with this news his men broke out in open mutiny. They had been supplying their own rations for two months, and were without money or food. The men swore they would desert to the Taipings. They posted placards threatening to loot the shops of the city and to massacre the local mandarins in a body. Burgevine saw that they meant business, and he went to Shanghai, accompanied by his bodyguard, to persuade Taki that it was necessary to pay the troops to avoid serious trouble. Taki was bland and complaisant, and at once ordered the money placed on board boats to be transported to Sungkiang. Burgevine, satisfied with seeing the money loaded on the boats, went back to his headquarters confident that everything would soon be straightened out.

It was not long before he discovered that Taki had played him a very low trick. Taki, according to Dr. Daniel Jerome Macgowan, ordered the boats to leave one jetty at Shanghai and proceed to another where they landed the money-bags. The money was then carried back to Taki's bank. Taki and Wu had no intention of paying the force. These men, says a Chinese writer on the rebellion, "were devoting to their own commercial speculations the funds which were destined for the contingent's pay. . . . Ward's death was Taki's signal for commencing operations. Taki, who would be down on his bare knees at one of Ward's angry shouts, and knocking his head against his feet, and at the same time assenting to everything, now secretly commenced those measures

which brought ruin to Burgevine, and subsequently an ignominious death."

When Burgevine realized Taki's treachery he was in a towering rage. He went to Shanghai with his bodyguard and seized the money due the Ever Victorious Army. Taki reviled him in Pidgin English, and Burgevine became so furious that he struck the banker in the face. Burgevine took 40,000 taels to Sungkiang, paid off his troops and averted the mutiny. By this act, says Macgowan, "he saved the lives of all the officers, native and foreign, in Sungkiang."

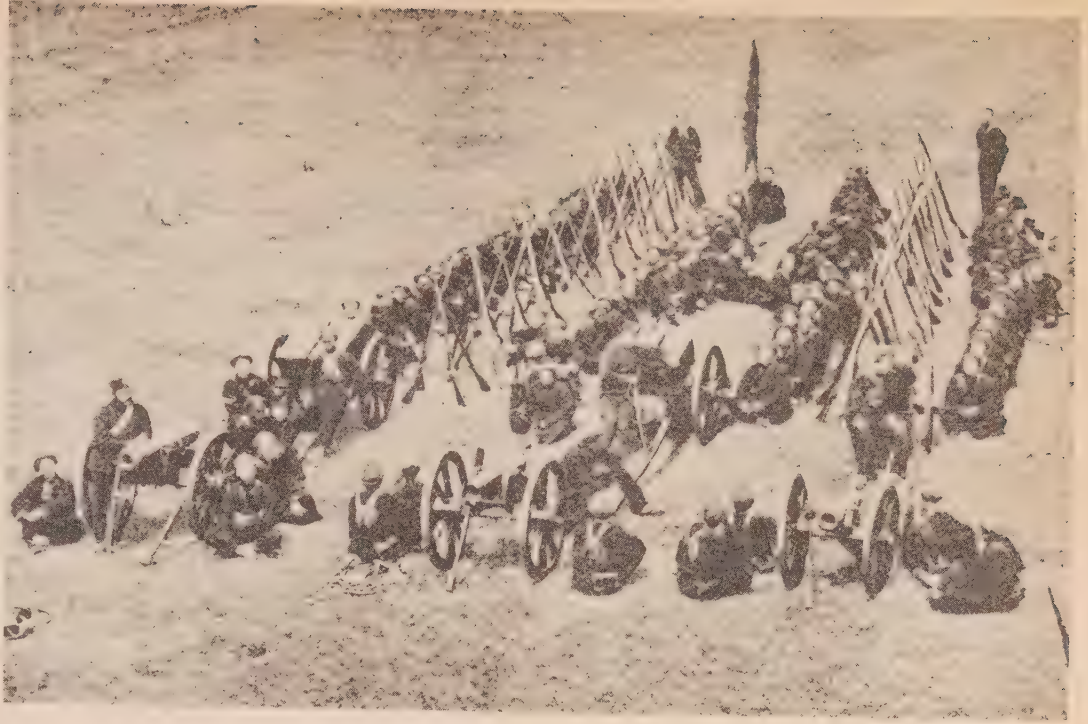
Li Hung-chang immediately took this as a pretext for dismissing Burgevine. He accused the commander of the Ever Victorious Army of treason in refusing to obey orders, of striking a mandarin, and of stealing public money. The charge of refusing to obey orders was based on the delay in setting out for Nanking. The charge was unjust. Burgevine, with foolhardy courage, was ready to go. He was delayed, not only because his men were on the point of mutiny, but also because the British and French authorities in Shanghai objected to the Nanking expedition. They pointed out that it was suicidal, and that it endangered the peace of Shanghai in removing so large a force from the city. But Li Hung-chang was in a bad position. He had told the Emperor of the Ever Victorious Army's expedition against Nanking, and the Son of Heaven was led to expect that the Taipings would speedily be suppressed. Abandonment of the Nanking expedition needed explaining, and Li Hung-chang found it expedient to make a scapegoat of Burgevine.

The charge of stealing public money was also unjust,

as we have seen. Burgevine had taken money which was due his men. According to witnesses he used no force in taking it away. Taki's employees accompanied the money to Sungkiang and saw it distributed to the Ever Victorious Army. Burgevine acknowledged his guilt in striking Taki, and apologized to the banker, but he claimed that the provocation had been great. However, Li was determined to get rid of him. On January 4th, 1863, Li removed Burgevine from his post, and at the same time offered a reward of 50,000 taels to any one who would turn him over to the Chinese authorities.

But the Ever Victorious Army was a force to be reckoned with. The army to a man, was with its commander. The officers, in answer to Li Hung-chang's offer of a reward for the surrender of Burgevine, signed a round-robin to the effect that if their leader were harmed they would serve the Imperial cause no longer. Burgevine was so angry that he was ready for anything, from mutiny to going over to the Taipings. Things looked black for a few days. Then, on the advice of the British General, Stavely, Burgevine decided to leave his post at Shanghai, and to lay his case before the foreign diplomatic body in Peking.

This move finished Burgevine. Li Hung-chang immediately looked about for some one to put in his place, and applied to General Stavely. Li and Stavely had already discussed a plan for reorganizing the Ever Victorious Army and putting it under command of a British officer. Possibly Stavely was not entirely disingenuous in advising Burgevine to leave his post. Three Britishers were eligible: Halliday Macartney, who had been Li Hung-



THE EVER VICTORIOUS ARMY

A remnant of Ward's force which was in existence as late as 1870 in Ningpo under the command of Major Cooke, who led the charge on the wall at Tsz-ki, the day Ward was killed.

chang's secretary, and who was favored by the mandarins; Captain Holland, who had been appointed Burgevine's military secretary; and Major Gordon, who was the nominee of General Stavely. Gordon was not immediately available, because he was then making a survey of the thirty-mile zone around Shanghai.

Still another aspirant for the post was the discredited Imperialist General, Li Ai-tang. One morning a placard appeared before Li Ai-tang's residence, signed with the name of Li Hung-chang. This stated that Li Ai-tang had been appointed commander of the Ever Victorious Army, and called upon all the soldiers to acknowledge his authority. They refused to do so. Li Hung-chang, on the advice of General Stavely, then appointed Captain Holland. Holland took command of the Ever Victorious Army in the middle of January, 1863. Under him the force was overhauled by officers of the British Army. Its financing was taken over by Li Hung-chang, who had discovered that Taki and Wu were mishandling the funds. Li removed both of them from office, and arranged to have the force paid through a Custom House bank. Li paid up all the arrears of the force when Holland took command.

Macgowan says that although Holland worked very hard he failed to gain the good will of Ward's old officers: "The officers were used to a commander who was more like their father than their general. The men did not feel very comfortable being placed under a British aristocrat. Much of the troubles that prevailed from this time in the Legion, until the time of its disbandment, find explanation in the word 'aristocrat.' In that genial, free-

and-easy body, men of all nationalities were equal. No jealousy existed, except such as is always found between professionals and amateurs. Educated men are seldom good yoke-fellows with others who have not been thus favoured. It is very likely that the officers of the allied forces showed no excess of suavity; and, as regards the ex-mercantile mates, they placed a low estimate on the personal prowess of the real soldiers. Here, then, was an element of chronic discord."

The Ever Victorious Army had been in upwards of seventy battles when Holland became its commander. At the end of January, 1863, Holland made a few unsuccessful raids around Sungkiang. On February 14th, he attacked the town of Taitsang. He had with him three thousand men and twenty-two pieces of artillery. After a four-hour bombardment he led a storming party against the walls. Holland had not sufficiently reconnoitered his ground. When he appeared before the walls he had no way of crossing the moat which he had thought dry, and which proved unfordable. A few men crossed the moat on a ladder only to be shot like rats when the ladder broke. The whole storming party faltered on the brink. At this moment, according to an eye-witness of the battle: "a color sergeant of the disciplined rifle regiment performed an act of bravery that no European could have outdone. Seizing the colors of the regiment, Ward's old flag, he rushed to the front with it, and calling on the men to advance, stood there alone, a mark for the fire of the besieged. It is remarkable that though six bullets pierced his clothes, not one injured him or even cut his skin."

Holland's men were needlessly exposed to destructive fire. They were badly beaten and driven off with a loss of 400 killed and wounded, and had to retreat in disorder to Sungkiang. This serious defeat—the first defeat suffered by the Ever Victorious Army—put an end to the ambitions of Captain Holland to take Ward's place. It was obvious, even to the Taipings, that the dreaded "false foreign devils" were badly led at Taitsang.

"Oh, how we laughed on the morning of the assault," said one of the rebel chiefs, "as they advanced nearer to the creek which they brought no bridge to throw over! How we laughed as we saw the ladder they had thrown ever getting weaker and weaker beneath them, and at last fall into the creek, leaving half the party on one side and half on the other. 'What general is he,' cried our chief, 'who sends his men to storm a city without first ascertaining that there is a moat'? 'And what general is he,' cried another of our leaders, 'who allows a storming party to advance without bridges? See, O chief, these unfortunates.' "

While this was going on Burgevine was in Peking trying to be reinstated. With the backing of Minister Burlingame he had been well received by the foreign diplomatic body. Sir Frederick Bruce, the British Minister, wrote to Prince Kung that he had "formed a high opinion of General Burgevine's qualifications for the post he occupies. He is brave, honest, conciliatory in his manner, and is sincerely desirous of serving the Chinese Government, as he looks upon this country as his home." On strong representation from Burlingame and the British Minister the

Imperial government asked Li Hung-chang to reconsider Burgevine's case.

Burgevine returned to Shanghai expecting to be reinstated. It soon became evident, however, that Li did not want Burgevine, and that the Imperial authorities would not force Li's hand. To Minister Burlingame, who interested himself in Burgevine's case, the Imperial authorities "admitted that they knew Burgevine was innocent, but that they were afraid to do him justice because of the local authorities."

There were reasons for Burgevine's failure besides his rift with Li Hung-chang. Burgevine was a first-rate combat officer, but he had not the organizing genius of Ward, and did not sufficiently understand the old military adage that "an army marches on its stomach." His commissary was not always in good working order. Once, just before the battle of Kiating, it broke down completely, and there was a near mutiny because the men were without food. One of Burgevine's officers, writing of this incident, said: "Burgevine was not the man that Ward was. The latter used to go by his own judgment, while Burgevine confided too much to his staff, which would have been right enough, if these men had been competent to hold their rank. But Burgevine ought to have known that they were not."

The Chinese did not like Burgevine as they had liked Ward. Though he had not the Southern politeness of Burgevine, Ward knew how to get along with the Sons of Han. Burgevine's manners won the foreign officers, but he was overbearing towards the natives, and, as one writer says, "he seemed to think that the cinnamon-col-

ored men were entitled to only a shade more respect than those of ebony hue." This made for friction between him and his employers. He was disliked by the people of Sungkiang for another and a peculiarly Chinese reason. In building a military road, which cost a great deal of money, between Sungkiang barracks and the landing place on Sungkiang Creek, he carried the road right through the city wall against all the rules of Chinese geomancy. Through the opening in the wall made by Burgevine "ill-luck flowed in a continuous current, permeating every house in the devoted city," according to geomancers. For these reasons, it was not hard for Li Hung-chang to get rid of Burgevine.

On March 27th, 1863, Major Charles George ("Chinese") Gordon of the British Royal Engineers took command of the Ever Victorious Army. The army of five thousand men, with its park of artillery of thirty guns, and its fleet of steamers, had been leaderless and inactive since the defeat at Taitsang. When Gordon took command there was grave trouble brewing between the force and the authorities at Sungkiang. The pay of the men was in arrears. Many of them had taken to looting the Sungkiang shops, and some of the looters had been beheaded by the civil authorities. A serious outbreak followed. The troops were out for the blood of the civil mandarins. This was the state of affairs when Gordon arrived to take over the command.

Gordon saw the situation at once. He ordered the officers to parade the force immediately. Gordon had an impediment of speech. He lisped. This took nothing from his authority or self-confidence. When the officers told

him the force was on the verge of mutiny and would not parade, he made a classic reply:

"Damned nonthenth! Tholdierths muthn't mutiny!"

And he proceeded to prove that they mustn't. He told the officers that he had brought pay to the end of the month, and that thereafter there would be no arrears. All ranks would be paid at once, and action on the field would come soon. This was the magic that ended the near mutiny. Gordon brought money, and a promise of action. In the excitement of preparation for battle the soldiers forgot their grievances. Gordon had a little trouble with the officers, but he was firm and tactful, and won them over. He was given several new officers from the British regular army, and these were of great help to him in reorganizing the force.

Gordon pulled the Ever Victorious Army together in a surprisingly short time, and brought it back to the efficiency it had had in Ward's day. Just two weeks after he took command he led the force into action. On April 6th, 1863, with 2,250 men of the Ever Victorious Army and twelve guns, and allied with 6,000 Imperial troops, he struck the Taiping army which was besieging Changshu. In a two-day battle he drove off the rebels and relieved the city. This victory put Gordon on a good footing with the force and with its Chinese backers. He followed up this success on the first of May with the recapture of the city of Taitsang, where Holland met his Waterloo. The guns lent by the British proved very effective at Taitsang, and the British army lent moral support by sending 500 men under General Brown to cover Gordon's rear. General Brown had succeeded Stavely and was at that time

commander of the British forces in China. The Ever Victorious Army gorged itself with loot at Taitsang, and had to be ordered back to Sungkiang for reorganization.

Gordon and his Chinese ally, Chen Siaoki, were severely criticized in a number of newspapers after the taking of Taitsang. These criticisms concerned the killing of prisoners. It was said that two American and two French soldiers of fortune, and three former soldiers of the Fifth Bombay Infantry, who had been serving with the Taipings, had been killed without mercy though they pleaded for their lives. Stories of hideous atrocities committed upon native prisoners—men, women and children —of whole battalions of Taipings subjected to the cruel "death of a thousand slices," were printed in the *Daily and Commercial News* at Shanghai, and the *Times of India*. These stories roused the Bishop of Victoria to protest against the use of British officers on the side of the Imperialists, and they drew retorts from Gordon and General Brown. Gordon and Brown said the atrocity stories were untrue or greatly exaggerated. Andrew Wilson, one of Gordon's biographers, accepted the British officers' version of the affair, and made a curious comment upon it.

"According to the testimony of several British officers," says Wilson, "the sentence upon them (the Taiping prisoners) was carried out only in a very modified form. They were tied up and exposed to view for about five hours, each with a piece of skin cut from one arm and hanging down, and with an arrow or two pushed through the skin in various places. They did not seem to suffer pain, and were afterwards beheaded in the ordinary way. Even this, of course, was objectionable; and General Brown, careful

of the honor of a British officer, at once told the Futai, Li, that if any similar cases were reported to him he would withdraw his troops, and cease to act along with the Imperialists. This was quite right; but it should be noticed, also, that we are apt to attach an exaggerated importance to the cruelty of Chinese punishments from our own superior sensitiveness to pain. What might be exquisite torture to the nervous vascular European is something much less to the obtuse-nerved Turanian. . . . Every doctor who has had to perform operations on Chinamen knows how little they suffer in comparison with more sensitive races."

After Taitsang fresh trouble waited for Gordon. Burgevine had returned from Peking with the Imperial government's promise that it would request that he be reinstated. Li Hung-chang refused to reinstate him. The officers of the Ever Victorious Army still idolized Burgevine, and Li's refusal to put him at the head of the force again brought an outbreak, round-robins from the officers, threats to resign, and so on. Gordon met the situation with a high hand. He dismissed the officers who openly favored Burgevine, and replaced them with officers given him by General Brown. The support of the British military leaders was the rock of strength that upheld Gordon in command of the Ever Victorious Army. They lent him officers, arms, and munitions. Captain Brinkley says that Gordon had "a fine park of guns lent by the British General,—so fine that the fear of losing them induced the general to attach many of his best officers to the Ever Victorious Army, and his field artil-

lery incomparably outclassed anything the Taipings could oppose to it."

It took more than three weeks to get the army ready for the field again. On May 27th, Gordon moved out of Sungkiang with 3,900 men and began operations against Kunshan. General Chen Siaoki had been besieging the city with 20,000 men for some time without success. Kunshan fell to Gordon after a three-day assault. The armored steamer *Hyson,* commanded by Captain Davidson, an old officer of General Ward's, proved most effective in the action. Gordon used Ward's strategy to the limit at Kunshan, and in consequence was called "military genius" by General Brown.

After the capture of the city, Gordon decided to move the headquarters of the Ever Victorious Army from Sungkiang to Kunshan. This brought another mutiny. Most of the native soldiers had their homes in Sungkiang, and they objected to being moved away. Two thousand of them deserted. Gordon immediately enlisted 2,000 Taiping prisoners taken at Kunshan, and with additional drillmasters lent by the British Army he soon whipped them into shape. Halliday Macartney, Li Hung-chang's British secretary, was given the command of Sungkiang and was empowered to recruit a regiment of Chinese to hold it.

Gordon continued to have trouble with the men, native and foreign. He did not have Ward's way with them. As a British officer he felt himself superior to the Chinese and to the irregular officers of his force, and he could not help showing it. This attitude of his caused friction. After the taking of Kunshan there was bad blood between Gor-

don's men and the army of Chen Siaoki. There was one serious clash in which Chen's men fired on the Ever Victorious Army. Gordon threatened to resign unless Chen Siaoki were cashiered. The row was patched up by Halliday Macartney. Chen apologized and Gordon withdrew his resignation.

Gordon now closed in on Soochow, as Ward had planned to do before him, cutting its communications by capturing towns around it. He took Chapoo and Wukiang in July. In Wukiang 3,000 Taipings surrendered. Gordon turned Wukiang and his prisoners of war over to Chen Siaoki. Chen promptly beheaded them. Gordon was furious at Chen's barbarity, and he threatened once more to resign unless Li Hung-chang dismissed Chen at once. Li Hung-chang refused. Gordon was again on the point of giving up the command when it became known that Burgevine, embittered at his treatment by the Imperialists, had seized the steamer *Kajow* in Shanghai, and had gone off to Soochow with a number of former officers of the Ever Victorious Army to join the Taipings. Gordon felt a certain responsibility for Burgevine's acts and he changed his mind again about resigning.

During the summer and fall of 1863, Gordon continued his moves to invest Soochow, systematically cutting its lines of communication. He acted in this campaign with General Chen Siaoki, who had about 20,000 troops, and with a Franco-Chinese force of 2,500 men under a French army captain. By the end of October things began to look dark for the city. The foreigners in the service of the Taipings in Soochow were disgruntled. They had received no honors or position of command, and since they

saw little hope of the city holding out against the Imperialists, they asked Gordon for terms of surrender. He promised them immunity if they would leave the rebel service. Burgevine was among these foreigners.

The difficulty was getting away from the Taipings. A plan was devised through which the mercenaries put themselves in Gordon's hands under cover of a feint at the Ever Victorious Army. They pretended to attack the *Hyson,* and as they rushed toward the steamboat hundreds of rebel soldiers followed them unsuspectingly, only to be met with rifle and cannon fire. The deserters got safely on board the ship, all except Burgevine, who had not been able to leave Soochow for some reason when the others came over. Gordon feared that he would be executed for the treacherous behavior of the foreign contingent, and he sent an appeal to the Mo Wang, the rebel commander in Soochow, asking that Burgevine be surrendered to the Imperialists. The Mo Wang magnanimously gave Burgevine up.

By the end of November Soochow was in a bad way. Eight of the nine rebel Wangs in command of the city saw that the situation was hopeless, and they parleyed for terms of surrender. They were assured by General Chen Siaoki that mercy would be shown. Gordon took part in these negotiations and held out hope of mercy to the Wangs. The Mo Wang, the commandant of Soochow, would not be a party to the surrender. He was killed by his fellow Wangs and his head sent to Chen Siaoki. On December 4th, 1863, the Imperialists entered Soochow. After the surrender Gordon withdrew the Ever Victorious Army to Kunshan to keep it from looting, which he

said would demoralize it. The Imperial troops which entered Soochow paid little attention to the terms of the surrender. The city was given up to looting and massacre for days. The eight rebel Wangs were all beheaded. According to Chinese eye-witnesses, the whole Taiping garrison was slaughtered. "The execution ground weeks after this butchery for three feet deep stunk with blood . . ." says a newspaper account. "One Chinese informant told us that 30,000 rebels had been led to these shambles and executed. We had proofs enough to know that the number was enormous. We have it on the authority of an European eye-witness that the creek was so full of decapitated rebels that the mandarins employed boatmen to clean it by pushing the bodies with boat-hooks into the principal stream."

Gordon was so enraged at the perfidy of Li Hung-chang in murdering the prisoners of Soochow that he threatened to kill him. He left the command of the Ever Victorious Army, saying he would serve the Imperial cause no longer. During early December the army was without a leader, and General Brown on December 17th decided "that to avert a perhaps total defection of the force to take Major Gordon and his force under my command."

On February 6th, 1864, Gordon decided again to take command of the Ever Victorious Army. The reasons which he gave for going back to the Imperial service were that he knew that Burgevine, whom he had persuaded to leave the Taipings, proposed to return to the rebels; "that there are upwards of three hundred Europeans ready to join them, of no character; and that the

Futai (Li Hung-chang) will not accept another British officer if I leave the service, and therefore the Governor may have some foreigner put in, or else the force put under men of Ward's (sic!) and Burgevine's stamp."

Burgevine did not rejoin the Taipings in 1864 as Gordon suspected, though he did try to join them later. Burgevine's was a checkered career. He was a brave man and a good officer, but he lacked the integrity and the ability of Ward. In November, 1863, he was deported to Japan. In 1865 he returned to China and rejoined the remnant of the Taiping Army under the Loyal King's brother at Amoy. In May, 1865, he was taken at Changchow, by a force under a British officer, and handed over to the Chinese.

A Shanghai writer said that Burgevine was "detained at Foochow pending the question of his extradition. The American Government, however, regarded him as no longer entitled to its protection. [The consul at Soochow at first demanded his surrender, but later the American government renounced its jurisdiction over Burgevine.] Eventually he was conveyed by the overland route to be handed over to the Kiangsu authorities; and what happened subsequently is a tragedy still wrapt in mystery. Officially he was reported to have been drowned on the way, during a flood in Chekiang; and consular investigations failed to substantiate the prevailing rumours as to foul play, although a strip of flayed skin was said to have been found within his coffin. His body was reported to be fearfully mutilated when found in a ditch of a village near Ningpo—being identified through a fracture of the skull received while fighting for the Imperialists. Such

was the tragic end of a former hero whose career was like a romance, whose wrongs at one time had deep sympathy from high quarters, and whose downfall was in great measure the outcome of those unredressed wrongs."

Gordon returned to the Imperial service and led the Ever Victorious Army in the campaign which centered on Nanking. By April, 1864, the Taipings held only Nanking and four outlying cities, and it was apparent that they could not hold them much longer. At about this time the British government withdrew the order which permitted its officers to take service with the Chinese. The British leaders in Shanghai did not protest this move, for they considered that since the road to Nanking had been opened the task of the Ever Victorious Army was at an end. The British officers were ordered to return to their regiments. Gordon resigned in June, 1864, after the taking of Changchow. The Ever Victorious Army was disbanded at the same time.

During the three years of its existence the Ever Victorious Army cost the Chinese government six million dollars. Ward had equipped and maintained the army from early in the summer of 1861 to the end of September, 1862, for a little less than two millions. In the five months during which Forrester, Burgevine, and Holland were in command, the force had cost the Chinese over a million. From March, 1863, to June, 1864, while Chinese Gordon was in command, it had cost about three millions. These figures are only approximate, but they show that Ward was by far the most economical commander of the Ever Victorious Army. In three years the army had fought more than a hundred battles with only

two or three defeats. It was never defeated under Ward. It had taken fifty rebel towns, twenty-seven under Ward and twenty-three under Gordon. When it left the field, the Taiping rebellion was broken and the road was clear for the capture of Nanking.

On July 19th, 1864, Nanking fell. Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan, the conqueror of the city, said that the 10,000 rebels in Nanking did not surrender but "destroyed themselves and passed away without repentance." Still the Marquis had a lot of killing to do, for he says "the next three days were employed in exterminating the remainder of the rebels." Many of the rebels escaped and scattered to Southern China, to the Malay Straits, and even to America. The last Taiping leader of any importance was the Shih Wang, General Li Shi-hsien, the brother of the Loyal King. He was defeated at Amoy and committed suicide in the summer of 1865. It was on his way to join the Shih Wang that Burgevine met his death.

The Heavenly King was dead when the Imperialists took Nanking. He had poisoned himself on June 30th, 1864, by swallowing gold leaf. The Imperialists spent a good deal of time looking for his body. "The officers and men," says Marquis Tseng Kuo-fan, "on account of the anger and the wrath that had grown up in them were unanimous in their desire to obtain the corpse of the so-called Heavenly King, Hung Siu-tsuen, in order to comfort themselves. It was not until the 27th of the 6th moon (July 30th) that the rebel's remains were found. They were exhumed from the so-styled palace on that day and on the 28th were brought to your servants' quarters. The body was inspected by your servant Kuo-ch'en,

and three officers who had filled posts in the Autumn Court of the Board of Punishments. The various civil and military officers were likewise allowed to see it. The rebel's corpse had, in accordance with his false religion, not been put into a coffin, but was enveloped in yellow satin embroidered with dragons, and even the bottoms of the trousers were embroidered in the same way. His head was bald, without hair, his moustache remained but had become grey, and there was flesh on the left thigh and the right shoulder. As soon as examination had been concluded the head was severed, and the remainder of the body after being cut up was finally burnt."

Ward and Gordon's great adversary, the Loyal King, was in command when the rebel capital was taken. He sent the women and the children out of the city before the final assault was delivered, and Marquis Tseng charitably gave them food and shelter. In the final assault the Loyal King made a desperate stand on the walls, and again at the Tien Wang's palace. He repulsed the Imperialists in a fierce rearguard action at the city gates and escaped with 1,000 of his followers. With him was the eldest son of Hung Siu-tsuen who had ascended the throne on his father's death. The Loyal King hoped to escape with the Taiping heir to Szechuan or Kwangsi, where they could carry on the rebellion among the mountain tribes. Marquis Tseng's cavalry was close on their trail. The Loyal King saw that escape for both was impossible. He had the better horse, and he gave it to the son of the Heavenly King, and told him to ride for his life. The Loyal King dropped back and fell in with a crowd of people who recognized him as a rebel officer

—Courtesy Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

CHINESE GORDON

The famous English soldier in the robes given him by the Emperor of China for his services as Commander of The Ever Victorious Army.

because of his dress and his long hair. They advised him to shave his head at once as a sign of submission to the Manchus. He answered:

"I am a great minister of a nation now extinct, and of a sovereign now no more. Had I not escaped, but been taken by the Imperialists, I should not have been alive. Even if I now live it would not be fair to my men who have fallen. I cannot have my head shaved."

This great and chivalrous soldier was taken by Tseng's men, and after a short imprisonment was condemned to the death of a thousand slices. The Imperial judgment was that he be "put to a slow and ignominious death . . . and his head sent round to the various cities to gratify the public mind."

While he was waiting for this death he wrote his memoirs carefully and calmly.

X. WARD AND GORDON

THE life of Frederick Townsend Ward was a drama of strange chances. It had about it, always, an air of the incredible, and it is incredible still to many who have heard his story. Ward was lured to China by dreams of power and glory, of the riches and the luxury of fable, and all within the grasp of an adventurous Yankee sailor boy. He saw himself a prince in the East, and forgot in the end that even Chinese bullets have the power to kill. It is said that he wore his mandarin robes and his insignia of office but once. His Chinese wife he could have seen no more than half a dozen times. Most of the fabulous sums he earned he never collected, and the army which he created and led to victory became, when he was dead, no more than a name on a pedestal to the glory of "Chinese" Gordon.

The story of Frederick Townsend Ward has become oddly entangled with that of "Chinese" Gordon. It is a curious fact that Gordon gathered to himself the glory for most of the work which Ward did in China. Not that Gordon himself did the gathering. That was done for him by a group of British writers, Alfred Egmont Hake, Samuel Mossman, Andrew Wilson, Demetrius C. Boulger, and others, who have worked on the Gordon legend.

That legend has taken powerful hold on the imagination of British writers. Even the sub-acid Lytton Strachey is not immune. In "The last days of General Gordon," Strachey says:

"The Taipings, steadily growing in power, were spreading destruction far and wide. The Ever Victorious Army was the only force capable of opposing them, and the Ever Victorious Army was defeated more often than not. Its first European leader had been killed; his successor quarrelled with the Chinese Governor, Li Hung Chang, and was dismissed. . . . It was in these circumstances that, early in 1863, the command of the Ever Victorious Army was offered to Gordon. He accepted it, received the title of General from the Chinese authorities, and entered forthwith upon his new task. He was just thirty.

"In eighteen months, he told Li Hung Chang, the business would be finished; and he was as good as his word. The difficulties before him were very great. A vast tract of country was in the possession of the rebels—an area, at the lowest estimate, of 14,000 square miles with a population of twenty millions. For centuries this low lying plain of the Yang-tze-delta, rich in silk and tea, fertilized by elaborate irrigation, and covered with great walled cities, had been one of the most flourishing districts in China. Though it was now being rapidly ruined by the depredations of the Taipings, its strategic strength was obviously enormous. Gordon, however, with the eye of a born general, perceived that he could convert the very feature of the country which, on the face of it, most favored an army on the defense—its complicated geographical system of interlacing roads and waterways, canals,

lakes, and rivers—into a means of offensive warfare. The force at his disposal was small, but it was mobile. He had a passion for mapmaking, and had already, in his leisure hours, made a careful survey of the country around Shanghai; he was thus able to execute a series of maneuvers which proved fatal to the enemy. By swift marches and counter-marches, by sudden attacks and surprises, above all by the dispatch of armed steamboats up the circuitous water-ways into positions from which they could fall upon the enemy in reverse, he was able gradually to force back the rebels, to cut them off piece-meal in the field, and to seize upon their cities. But, brilliant as these operations were, Gordon's military genius showed itself no less unmistakably in other directions. The Ever Victorious Army, recruited from the riff-raff of Shanghai, was an ill-disciplined, ill-organized body of about three thousand men, constantly on the verge of mutiny, supporting itself on plunder, and, at the slightest provocation, melting into thin air. Gordon, by sheer force of character, established over this incoherent mass of ruffians an extraordinary ascendancy. He drilled them with rigid severity; he put them into a uniform, armed them systematically, substituted pay for loot, and was even able, at last, to introduce regulations of a sanitary kind. There were some terrible scenes, in which the General, alone, faced the whole furious army, and quelled it: scenes of rage, desperation, towering courage, and summary execution. Eventually he attained to an almost magical prestige. Walking at the head of his troops, with nothing but a light cane in his hand, he seemed to pass through every danger with the scatheless equanimity of a demi-God. The Taipings

themselves were awed into a strange reverence. More than once their leaders, in a frenzy of fear and admiration, ordered the sharp-shooters not to take aim at the advancing figure of the faintly smiling Englishman."

All this is written in the authentic style of legend. It describes not an actual man, but a figure in stained glass pieced together with attributes of Napoleon, the Admirable Crichton, and Frederick Townsend Ward. The legend of "Chinese" Gordon has obscured the real story of the war against the Taipings. According to the legend Gordon was the Saint George who slew the Taiping dragon, a Christian soldier and a military genius who carried the standards of humanity and civilization in crushing an uprising of savage and destructive bandits. Ward was a Yankee adventurer and not a bad fighter, but was in no way to be compared with the great and chivalrous Gordon. This was the orthodox view of the British at the close of the Taiping rebellion. It became dogma after the heroic death of Gordon at Khartoum.

The British view is wide of the facts to say the least. The Taiping rebellion was not an uprising of savage and destructive bandits. It was an attempt to sweep aside an alien government which had outgrown its usefulness. The rebellion grew out of the political and social unrest which had been brought on by the corruption of the government under the later Manchu emperors. The impact of Western ideas, and the Manchu loss of face because of their defeat in the Opium War were contributing causes. The Taiping rebellion was the great upheaval which announced the death of old China and the beginning of the terrible period of labor which ended with the birth of

Nationalist China. Though the Taipings were defeated and have long since disappeared from the scene their rebellion has its branches in China's future. The father of Sun Yat-sen, the hero of the Chinese republican revolution, was a Taiping rebel. In his youth Sun heard many stories of the great uprising, and early in his revolutionary career he called himself the new Hung Siu-tsuen who was to drive out the Manchus and regenerate China.

The Taipings were Christians, of a kind, and it is upon their Christianity, that they have been judged. This is unfortunate because their rebellion had important political and social motives. The earliest information which America and Europe had of the rebellion came largely from missionaries who saw the Taipings as an apparition out of the Middle Ages, a Chinese horde led by a new Prester John fighting to set up an empire of Christ in Asia. Protestant missionaries looked upon the Taipings as "instruments of Providence for regenerating the Chinese people," and upon Hung Siu-tsuen as another Cromwell.

"China never before looked on such a Cromwellian chief," says Maclay in his *Life Among the Chinese*, "never listened to the heavy tread of such Ironsides. In no other land has Christianity ever had such a precursor, in no age has the Savior had such a John the Baptist." The annual report of the Seventh Day Adventists for 1853 reported that "It can hardly be deemed an excess of enthusiasm to regard this (the Taiping Rebellion) as the beginning of those mighty movements which are to shake the earth and usher in the latter days of glory."

Most of the foreigners in China at first sympathized with the Taipings. The Protestant missionaries were de-

lighted with the rebels' religion, and with their vetoes against slavery, foot-binding, prostitution, infanticide, and the use of opium, liquor, and tobacco. Such prominent missionaries and Chinese scholars as the Rev. George Smith, Bishop of Victoria, Dr. James Legge, and Dr. W. A. P. Martin were rebel partisans. Missionary opinion was not unanimous, but in the early days of the rebellion it was largely in favor of the genuineness of Taiping Christianity, and the desire of the rebels to reconstruct China in the light of their new-found faith. The imperfections of their faith were laid to want of instruction rather than to lack of sincerity.

Aside from missionary reports, the earliest authentic information on the Taipings reached the western world in 1853, when Sir George Bonham, the British representative, sailed up the Yangtze to Nanking in the warship, *Hermes*. Bonham found the rebels disposed to be friendly to their "ocean brothers" who worshipped the "one true God." He and his party observed not a little puritanical zeal among the rebel soldiery. One of their number tells of "a youth who acted as one of the guides to a party that rode into Nanking, and who again and again, as he ran along on foot, begged and beseeched Mr. Interpreter Meadows, if he came back from Shanghai, to bring him a double sword; but also exhorted that gentleman to refrain from smoking, from drunkenness, and other vices with a simple earnestness at once amusing and admirable."

Some members of Sir George Bonham's party did not like the looks of the Taipings, but the interpreter, T. T. Meadows, the one man in the party who knew the Chinese language thoroughly, was favorably impressed.

Meadows found the Christianity of the Taipings modified by Confucianism but believed that it need not lose its right to be considered Christianity for that reason since the Christian faith had ben "invariably much modified by the different preëxisting systems of fundamental beliefs entertained by the different nations which have accepted it." He was convinced that under the Taipings Chinese prejudices against foreigners would disappear, and merchants from all countries would be given complete freedom of commercial action throughout the empire. As late as 1861, Meadows, who was at that time a consul, sent a dispatch to the British Foreign Office in favor of the insurgents. He insisted that the Taipings seemed capable of establishing a strong and efficient government, and said that there was "a long series of irrefragable proofs that they earnestly desired friendly commercial relations with us." He concluded that the best interest of China and of the foreign powers would be served by helping the insurgents.

Meadows was not alone among the consuls in his good opinion of the Taipings. In the early years of the rebellion the Taipings were looked upon with favor in Europe and America. Sentimental stories appeared in the press about the Chinese Christian brothers who were engaged in a life and death struggle with the heathen Manchus. During the 1850's, when the Taipings were founding their empire, the Western merchants and consuls, who found it difficult to get the concessions they wanted from the Manchu government, were favorably disposed toward the rebels. They hoped that the Taipings, who were known to be friendly to foreigners, would easily yield these conces-

sions, which were: the opening of all China to foreign trade, legalization of the opium traffic, the carrying out of treaties and the payment of claims arising out of China's wars with Great Britain. A leading Shanghai merchant in 1853 wrote to U. S. Commissioner Humphrey Marshall: "I hope Tien-Teh (the Taiping leader) will be successful and upset the present dynasty. We can not be worse off and he is said to be a liberal man." But the hopes of the traders were not realized. The Taipings were friendly, but they were not prepared to barter away their country's rights.

In the meantime the Manchu government was beaten to its knees by the Anglo-French Allies and became mild as milk to their demands and encroachments. The Manchus backed down on opium in 1858, yielded freedom of travel to foreigners, promised protection to Christians, and agreed to open the Yangtze to European trade. In the treaty of Peking in 1860 they agreed to pay France and Britain indemnities of eight million taels each, to restore all Catholic church property confiscated in China since 1724, and yielded many other important concessions. The Anglo-French Allies decided that the weak and wobbling Manchu government had more to offer than the strong and puritanical Taipings.

Opinion unfavorable to the Taipings made itself heard everywhere in the 1860's. The mood of the press changed. Articles began to appear in newspapers denouncing the Taipings as savages who were destroying the fairest provinces of China. It was declared that they were not Christians at all, but profane blasphemers who used Christianity as a cloak to get sympathy in the West, and that hu-

manity and civilization cried out for their destruction. The people of Europe and America were urged to go forth and destroy them.

The wildest stories of Taiping depravities were freely circulated. It was said that Hung Siu-tsuen was a polygamist who had anywhere from thirty-three to a hundred wives, and that he spent all his time in the pleasures of the harem. But Hung, the biblical imaginations of his enemies notwithstanding, was not the type of a Solomon, or even of a Henry VIII. He was a religious dreamer and it is likely that in the seclusion of his palace at Nanking he was occupied more with the mysteries of the Atonement and the Resurrection than with the luring and actual limbs of concubines. The story of Hung's bower of ladies, which served to turn the British and American peoples against the Taipings, rested on the flimsiest evidence. Dr. Medhurst, one of the most careful students of the Taiping movement, could find no clear proof that Hung Siu-tsuen was polygamous. The story of his wives and concubines was based, so Medhurst says, on the evidence of a Nanking horse boy. Certainly the evidence on Taiping polygamy is far from clear. No one saw Hung's wives and concubines. The story appears to have been in the same category as the curious tale of Kwan Wan, viceroy of Hupeh and Hunan, who says, in his memoirs of the Taiping rebellion, that Hung Siu-tsuen "in infancy, having lost both parents, resorted to astrology for sustenance." Sagacious infant!

The Taipings were accused of every kind of atrocious act. A typical story is that told of the taking of Soochow in the spring of 1860. After the capture of Soochow by

the rebels it was found that the suburbs of the city were heaps of smoking and looted ruins, that thousands of innocent people had been killed, and other thousands had fled to Shanghai. Soochow was held up as a terrible example of Taiping devastation. The rebel leader who took Soochow was the Loyal King. From all accounts of him he was a merciful conqueror, and many witnesses have testified that not he, but the Imperial Viceroy burned Soochow. One of them is Robert James Forrest, British Acting Consul at Ningpo.

"I never saw a foreigner return from Soochow who did not indulge in strong invective against the rebels for the destruction of the enormous suburbs of the city," said Mr. Forrest. "And yet the rebels burnt neither Soochow nor its suburbs. The Imperialists soldiers did it seven days before Chung Wang, (Loyal King) left Wusih! But facts, no matter how recorded never overthrow prejudice. The suburbs of Soochow will always rise in judgment against the Ch'angmaos (Taipings) though they were innocent of their destruction; and my experience of Taiping rule, although the result of a long residence at the capital, will never be favorably regarded, if in any way opposed to existing ideas."

"If I were to tell you that order did really reign at Nanking—very like the Warsaw article it is true, but still order,—that there were uncommonly clever generals among the T'ien Wangs (Hung Siu-tsuen's) officers, notably the Chung, Ying, and Mo Wangs—that in places not actually the seat of war the ground was well cultivated—that the conduct of the Taiping troops was not one bit worse than that of the Imperialists—and that the

inhabitants of such towns as Shaoshing and Hangchow have asserted that their lot under the Ch'angmao rule was infinitely better than their unhappy fate when these cities were recovered and fell for a time into the hands of barbarian (English) officers;—if I stated these things with every proof, I would be reviled as a rebel and a speaker of blasphemy against the brilliant political dawn now spreading over the empire."

Much of the devastation in the Taiping rebellion may be charged up to the Imperialists, part of whose strategy was to destroy the country as the rebels advanced. The Imperialist generals burnt the suburbs of Soochow in 1860. Forrester burned the suburbs of Sungkiang when the city was invested by the rebels in 1862. The Imperialists burned large parts of the native quarter of Shanghai in 1855. All these burned places were pointed out by Imperialist partisans as evidences of Taiping destructiveness.

Wherever impartial observers had opportunities to contrast the behavior of Imperialists and Taipings, they invariably found in favor of the rebels. T. T. Meadows and the Bishop of Victoria both testified that the rebels were under strict discipline, that they did not molest noncombatants, and were friendly to foreigners. Harry Parkes, British consul at Shanghai, who was an anti-Taiping, had to admit that the rebels behaved well in their attack on Ningpo, and that they treated foreigners with the greatest consideration. Captain Brinkley, an English writer, was convinced that the Taipings did not wantonly molest the inhabitants or lay waste the country, "but by the Imperial troops which hung on their rear or fled be-

fore them, harrowing cruelties and excesses were perpetrated. . . . Whenever the Taipings had passed, the Imperialists, following them, held the inhabitants responsible for a result which the latter could not have prevented, and thus the track of the rebellion was marked with blood not all shed by the rebels. . . . A different policy inspired each side. The Manchu officers, considering that the insurrection could not live without popular support, deliberately set themselves to give a practical demonstration that such support would be fatal to anyone furnishing it. Therefore whenever they came into occupation of a place previously held by the insurgents, they prepared an appalling object lesson by slaughtering the inhabitants wholesale. The Taipings, on the contrary, after they had gained sufficient strength to be discriminating, sought to enlist popular support by forbearance and conciliation. Each obeyed an intelligible motive; but the result was that whereas the Manchus butchered, devastated, and destroyed wherever they marched, the Taipings protected, preserved, and guarded. . . . A further distinction was that whereas the Manchu soldiery treated with aversion and ferocity any foreigner venturing among them, the Taipings welcomed him and gave him safe passage."

Yet the Western powers claimed that they supported the Imperialists against the Taipings for humanitarian reasons. In the light of the evidence their claim rings hollow. If the history of Western military operations in the Far East proves anything it is that no one country has monopolized civilization and humanity. The reason for the Western intervention in the Taiping rebellion is contained in one word—trade. Not that the Taipings inter-

fered with the legitimate trade of the Western powers. "Have the rebels"? asks Dr. James Legge, the distinguished English sinologue, "outraged British property and then refused to give satisfaction? Have they entered into engagements with us and then wilfully and knowingly violated them? Did they threaten to stop our trade, or have they instituted any measures for that purpose? I have not heard any of the things involved in these questions alleged against the Taipings."

It has been asserted that the Taipings ruined the tea and silk trade by devastating the agricultural districts of Kiangsu. This assertion is not supported by statistics. By the capture of Nanking in 1853 the Taipings acquired a large section of the silk producing districts of the lower Yangtze. During the previous ten years the Chinese export of raw silk averaged between sixteen and twenty-five thousand bales. In 1853 the export was 25,571 bales. In 1853 it jumped to 61,984 bales. In 1860-61, the year in which the Taipings occupied practically all the silk districts by the capture of Soochow, the export was 69,137 bales. The next year it rose to 88,754 bales, and in 1862-63, the last year of the Taiping occupation of the silk producing districts, it was 83,264 bales. After the capture of Soochow in 1863, by the Imperialists, the export of silk dropped to 46,863 bales, and in 1864-65, when the Taipings had been smashed, it fell to 41,128 bales.

Tea remained steadier, the export expanding normally from year to year. In 1852-53 it was 72,900,000 pounds. In 1853 when the Taipings had settled in Nanking it was 77,210,000, 1854-55, 86,500,000; 1860-61, 87,220,754; in 1861-62 it rose to 107,351,649; and with another great

increase in 1862 to 118,692,138. After the reconquest by the Imperialists the export remained steady, 119,689,-238 pounds in 1863-64, and 121,236,870 pounds in 1864-65. These figures do not indicate that Taiping rule was destructive to trade. It is remarkable that the rebels were able, while carrying on a life and death struggle, to expand their commerce as they did.

The Taipings did not destroy the trade between China and the West, but they threatened the imports which balancd that trade in favor of Western merchants. In the early days of the China trade the foreigners had great difficulty in finding goods with which to pay for Chinese tea and silk. Chinese products were in great demand in Europe and America, but there was very little which the Western nations had that found a ready market in China. Western merchants were forced to balance the trade with importations of silver. Until the third decade of the 19th century, when opium turned the scale, the balance of the trade was always heavily against the West and there was a steady drain of silver from Europe and America.

Latourette says: "Of the American imports to China the most important was specie. Until bills of exchange began to take its place, it formed half and even three-quarters of the total, amounting in one instance to nearly seven and one half million dollars. The drain was heavy but necessary. In some years it (specie) was in such demand that a premium had to be offered in the United States to obtain enough for a cargo. Most of it was in the form of Spanish milled dollars obtained from the Spanish West Indies, South America, Portugal and Gibraltar. So accustomed to these dollars did the Chinese merchants

become that when those of the new South American states began to come in, they were received only at an excessive discount. About 1827 bills of exchange on England began to take the place of specie. The large importation of opium by the British turned the balance of trade against China and made it cheaper to buy exchange than to ship silver, and the days of the latter's prominence as an export were at an end. In 1833 specie amounted to only one-seventh of the sum of the bills on England, and merchandise to less than two-thirds."

The principal importers of opium into China from 1781 up to the present time, have been the British, though it must be admitted, as Hosea Ballou Morse points out, that "there is nothing to show that the traders of any nationality, who could lay their hands on the drug, refused to deal in it." The Chinese government made the importation of opium illegal in 1800, but this did not stop the trade. Many reputable firms, English and American, as well as those of other nationals, were engaged in it all through the 19th century. "The explanation of the fact that merchants of the highest repute brought themselves to engage in a trade which we have come to regard as disreputable," says H. B. Morse, "is to be found in the imperative commercial necessity of lessening the constant flow of silver from the depleted European market, and of substituting for it any commodity which the Chinese would consent to buy. . . . Opium was the one thing the Chinese would consent to buy."

As early as 1839 Chinese officials claimed that opium drained China of ten million taels of silver a year. This condition continued up to the Taiping rebellion. In 1854,

a year after the Taipings settled in Nanking, a British writer, C. Wingrove Cook, gave the following figures for Britain's trade with China:

Imports from British Empire	
Opium, 65 to 70 thousand chests	$24,000,000
Cotton, 200,000 bales	4,000,000
Manufactures	4,000,000
Straits and India	1,600,000
Total	$33,600,000
Exports to the British Empire	
Tea, 85,000,000 pounds	$15,000,000
Silk, 40,000 bales	9,200,000
Sundries	1,500,000
	$25,700,000

This table shows a balance against China of $7,900,000 which would have been a balance of $16,100,000 against Britain and her colonies without opium.

After the capture of Nanking by the rebels the demand for opium dwindled. From 1854 the balance of trade again began to be in favor of China. "During the crisis of the Taiping rebellion," says H. B. Morse, "the foreign traders were again driven to resume the importation of silver. . . . Year after year exports exceeded imports in value, and the balance could be adjusted only by the continued importation of silver."

The Imperial government of China frowned on the opium trade for many years, but in the treaty concluded

by Lord Elgin in 1858, they legalized opium by including it in the tariffs which were part of the treaty. The Manchus recognized the fact that they could not keep the drug out of the country. Not so the Taipings. They still believed that they could put an end to the opium trade. With these facts in view it is not difficult to understand why the merchants and consuls in the treaty ports turned against the rebels. The Manchu acceptance of opium in 1858 was the beginning of the end for Taipingdom.

Another blow to the Taiping cause was the treaty of 1860 which opened the Yangtze river to trade as far up as Hankow. The British government irked at the fact that a rebellion in the Yangtze valley would interfere with the river trade. In March, 1861, Lord Elgin ordered Sir James Hope to sail up the Yangtze to "throw open the general coasting trade of the river" and to warn the Taipings that they must in no way interfere with that trade. "Evidently," says Brinkley, "the coasting-trade could not be expected to prosper if goods had to pay duties to two sets of collectors, Taipings and Imperialists. Admiral Hope, a shrewd, resolute officer, understood that a definite choice must be made between the two belligerents; it must be Taipings or Imperialists, certainly not Taipings *and* Imperialists. As a matter of fact his choice was made ere ever he turned his steamer's bows up-stream from Shanghai. He had already pronounced the Taipings an 'organized band of robbers,' and upon that estimate he unvaryingly proceeded."

Admiral Hope's anti-Taiping bias is understandable. He knew that Britain had won many concessions from the Imperialists. What would become of them if the Imperial

government fell? The value of these concessions and the need to protect them was impressed upon the Admiral by the merchants and the consuls whom he met in the course of his official duties in Shanghai. The Admiral, and the British Minister, Sir Frederick Bruce, were convinced that the commercial interests of the Empire demanded that the Taipings be destroyed. In a dispatch which he sent to his home government in 1861, Sir Frederick said: "Our permanent interests are those of trade, the prosperity of which is linked with order and tranquillity. We have, in addition, a temporary interest arising out of the indemnities payable from the custom-house revenue, which is, however, intimately linked with the former. What is to become of these interests if the ports fall into the hands of the rebels?"

Still the British Minister did not want to be hurried into action against the Taipings. He was disturbed lest premature interference in the rebellion would deprive Britain of "the power of making her aid a matter of bargain with the Imperial government." He felt that the longer he was able "to preserve an indifferent attitude toward the two parties, the more inclined they will be to bid higher for our friendship and support."

What clinched the matter was the action of the Russians. In the summer of 1861 the Russian envoy, Ignatieff, proposed to China that a Russian naval force be sent up the Yangtze to aid in the capture of the rebel stronghold, Nanking. He further proposed that Russian vessels be used to convey tribute grain to Peking from the south. These proposals, from the nation which was Britain's most powerful rival in the East, forced the hand of the British

Minister. Palmerston was then in power in England and his government was busied with the rapid extension of Britain's commercial empire. Sir Frederick knew that if Russia outmaneuvered him in China, he would earn little thanks from the Palmerston government.

It was a favorable time to move against the rebels. The Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, which had made it impossible for the British to send many troops to the Far East during the early years of the Taiping rebellion, were now things of the past. The War of 1860 against the Manchu government was over. The troops used in that war, and which were being held in China until the indemnities should be paid, were available for use against the Taipings. The British representatives in Peking and Shanghai gave the word for an advance against the rebels, sure that the accomplished fact of intervention would convince their Government, and that anti-Taiping propaganda would convince the people.

This gives a somewhat clearer light on the stories of Taiping blasphemy, cruelty, and general depravity which were circulated in the late 1850's and the 1860's. These stories were part of the propaganda for getting the "people at home" used to the idea that the Chinese rebels ought to be suppressed as a matter of policy. This propaganda convinced the "people at home." It convinced also many missionaries who had been Taiping partisans at first but who now, under pressure from their lay brethren, began to accuse the rebels of making a blasphemous travesty of Christianity. The motives which inspired the anti-Taiping propaganda of the Western traders, consuls, and military officers are easy to understand. They wanted

the Taipings suppressed for fairly obvious reasons. What is not so easy to understand is the attitude of the Christian missionaries. The missionaries were more familiar with the Chinese language than the traders, and they should have been the interpreters of China to the West. Yet they made no effective protest against the forces of commercial imperialism which accomplished the ruin of the Taipings.

The same strange fatality which has defeated Christianity in China from the time of the Nestorians to the present appears to have been actively at work in the Taiping rebellion. The missionaries quarrelled with the Taipings for reasons which had to do with their own sectarian and national rivalries rather than with any passion for Christianity. Each sect demanded that the religion of the rebels be of its own exact type. The sects quarreled with Taipings for their use of the term "Heavenly Elder Brother" and their references to the wife of Jesus, for their method of baptism, their Sabbath, and their retention of the most innocent Chinese ceremonial practices. The rebels offended all the missionaries except the Seventh Day Adventists by observing their Sabbath on Saturday. They horrified the missionaries by adopting a method of baptism all their own—washing the bosom in token of a cleansing of the heart. The Rev. Issachar J. Roberts, the Baptist preacher who was called to Nanking by Hung Siu-tsuen, appears to have thought less of bringing home to the Taipings the fundamentals of Christ's teaching than of convincing them that total immersion was the one correct method of baptism.

The missionaries did not understand the Taiping movement. Had they been less alien to Chinese life and thought

they might have seen that what they called the blasphemies of Hung Siu-tsuen were in reality his attempts to bring Christianity home to the Chinese people by relating it to ideas and beliefs with which they were familiar. Hung tried to retain the cardinal principles of Chinese life and thought within the structure of his Christianity. In doing this he showed a clearer understanding of historical Christianity than the missionaries who criticized him. He acted on the principle expressed by William Pott that: "Christianity as interpreted and practiced is a composite growth into which numerous cultural streams from the civilized pagan world have entered, and, with greater or less success, have been accommodated to the pressure of historical circumstances." It may well be that Hung Siu-tsuen was the true prophet of Christianity in China.

The Christian missionaries failed in any constructive action in the Taiping rebellion. They did nothing to stop the Anglo-French allies from joining hands with the Manchus against the followers of Hung Siu-tsuen. But though the missionaries did nothing, they, and many other observers, criticized the acts of the Anglo-French allies. Voices were raised in the English press and parliament denouncing a Christian empire which allied itself with a pagan government against its Christian brothers. "If ever Christian countries allied themselves with a ruthlessly exterminating power," says Brinkley, "such an alliance took place when England and France clasped hands with the Manchus . . . to the destruction of a body of men struggling for the cause of Christianity." Statements of this kind meant very little to the French, who, as the protectors of Catholic missions in the Far East, could not be expected

to feel very keenly the defeat of a rebellion inspired by Protestant teachings, but they were shocking to Victorian sensibilities. England had to do a good deal of rationalizing to put her activities in the Taiping rebellion in a favorable light before the world.

There was another sense in which Britain needed to have her Far Eastern activities put in a favorable light. British merchants were anxious to extend their commercial empire in China, and they looked to the Manchus for the concessions which would make this possible. The Manchus had to be convinced that they owed a great deal to the British, the very existence of their dynasty, in fact. This required that the work of British officers who had fought against the Taipings be emphasized, and that the work of other foreigners, who had preceded them, be slighted or forgotten.

Both these needs were filled by "Chinese" Gordon. The British rationalization of their own activities in the Taiping rebellion centered in him. He represented their idea of what they did in the rebellion—the idea that they unselfishly helped the Manchus to reëstablish law and order in the face of an irruption of bandits who had long hair, wore peculiar clothes, and had low ideas about God. Gordon had fitted very neatly into Ward's place as commander of the Ever Victorious Army, and because he was in at the death of the rebellion it was not hard for the British to forget Ward and to assure the Manchus that Gordon had done all the work. And since Gordon was known as a Christian of an almost fanatical type his participation in the destruction of the Taipings silenced most of the critics of Britain's policy in China. "The voice

which a later generation of Englishmen might have raised in condemnation of their country's action at this crisis of Far Eastern history," says Captain Brinkley, "was stilled by the thought that 'Charley Gordon of Khartoum' would have to be included in the arraignment."

Brinkley saw the matter clearly. There is little question that the government which Gordon served merits condemnation for much that it did in China in the 1860's, but it would be unjust to condemn Gordon. As Ward had done before him, he accepted the opinion of the Shanghai traders and consuls that he was fighting for humanity and civilization. He was satisfied that the rebels were a murderous horde which made a mockery of Christianity and used it only as bait for Western sympathy.

Gordon was not a thinker. Like Ward he was a man of action, a conquistador of the type of Cortez or Pizarro. Ward and Gordon made no attempt to fathom the significance of the rebellion. They did the job before them and thought very little about justifying their acts. They must be judged by their deeds, not by legends which have grown up around them. What Ward and Gordon did was to keep the Taipings out of Shanghai when rebel possession of the city would have meant the fall of the Manchu dynasty. Both Ward and Gordon had the support of British, French, and Chinese forces, but it is certain that Shanghai could not have been held without their work. They kept that great trading center, where the rebels might have supplied themselves with modern weapons, in the hands of the Imperialists, and saved for Li Hung-chang the Custom House which gave him resources with which to fight the Taipings. The Imperialist leaders did

not realize the importance of the sea-coast cities. Their one idea was to sweep the rebels toward the sea, which was exactly what the most intelligent of the rebel leaders wanted. The Taiping generals, and especially the Loyal King, saw the value of Shanghai as a source of military supplies. Once in possession of Shanghai, the Taipings would have found not only the war material which they sorely needed but money with which to pay for it in the revenues of the Shanghai Custom House. The Imperialist leaders did not know enough about Western war methods to see that the rebels would be greatly strengthened if they had free access to a treaty-port where they could get rifles, cannon, ammunition, and armored steamers. Not much was needed to turn the scale in favor of the rebels in 1861 and 1862. To keep the scale from turning was the job of Ward and Gordon.

The facts allow no question that the biggest part of this job was done by Ward. He had the vision to see that Chinese peasants could be turned into good fighting material. He taught those peasants their first lesson in modern warfare, transformed them into an efficient fighting machine, and led them in more than 50 victorious battles against the Taipings before Gordon came on the scene. Not only did Ward create the first Chinese military organization built on Western lines, but he conceived and put into operation the strategic plan by which the Taipings were thwarted in the Shanghai campaign. This plan was to organize his force for extreme mobility, by the use of armed boats and transports, armored steamers, pontoons, and portable bridges, so that he could move much more swiftly than the Taipings over the Kiangsu plain

with its network of waterways. Ward's use of these war engines put the Taipings at a fatal disadvantage. He could attack them in unexpected places, cut their communications, execute difficult flanking movements, and prevent any concentration of their armies before Shanghai.

"The success it (The Ever Victorious Army) obtained," says an English observer, "was owing to its compactness, its completeness, the quickness of its movements, its steamers and good artillery, the bravery of its officers, the confidence of its men, and the inability of the enemy to move large bodies of troops with rapidity."

The Ever Victorious Army and its organization was the work of Frederick Townsend Ward. Gordon inherited what Ward had created. He employed the forces which Ward had built and followed Ward's plan of campaign. He added nothing new to Ward's plan and in no way changed the organization of the Ever Victorious Army. Even Gordon's greatest admirers, who were familiar with Ward's work, had to recognize that fact. Hosea Ballou Morse says that Gordon was "no mere imitator, but he handled the force in much the same way as Ward, its creator."

Ward was the more creative of the two men, the better organizer, the better strategist, and the better diplomat. He was the steadier and more dependable leader. During Ward's time the Ever Victorious Army was never held up because of differences between Ward and his Chinese employers, his officers and men, or the Chinese generals with whom he coöperated. After Gordon took command, hardly a month passed that he was not threatening to resign because of quarrels with his officers and men, with

the mandarins, with the General Chen Siaoki, or with Li Hung-chang. Gordon was not a well-balanced man. He had, as Lytton Strachey says, "queer and violent elements" in his temper and was "even a little off his head perhaps, though a hero."

From another point of view, Ward's work was of more importance than Gordon's. Ward faced the Taipings when they were at high tide, and before the Anglo-French Allies had come whole-heartedly into the campaign. Gordon took command of the Ever Victorious Army when the Imperialists had the solid support of the allies, and when the rebels were no longer in a position to make a bid for Shanghai because of the withdrawal of the Loyal King's main army to Nanking.

Ward was unquestionably the greatest foreign soldier who fought in the Taiping rebellion. He was a military genius who helped to change the history of China. Without him the careers of the Dowager Empress and Li Hung-chang, those extraordinary figures of the Manchu decline, would not have been. He created the army that saved them, and as he led that army on the field of battle, nonchalantly swinging his rattan stick, he created the legend into which "Chinese" Gordon was fitted. England has taken his fame and given it to Gordon. America has forgotten. China alone has remembered him, even in the republican era which has succeeded the Manchu reign. The Manchus honored Ward because he gave their decayed dynasty the vampire's drop of blood that kept it alive for fifty years. The republicans who overthrew the dynasty honor him as the man who created the first modern

Chinese army. The Yankee sailor boy who sprinkled the Flowery Kingdom with his azure blood has found a happy seat among the clouds with the warrior shades of China's past.

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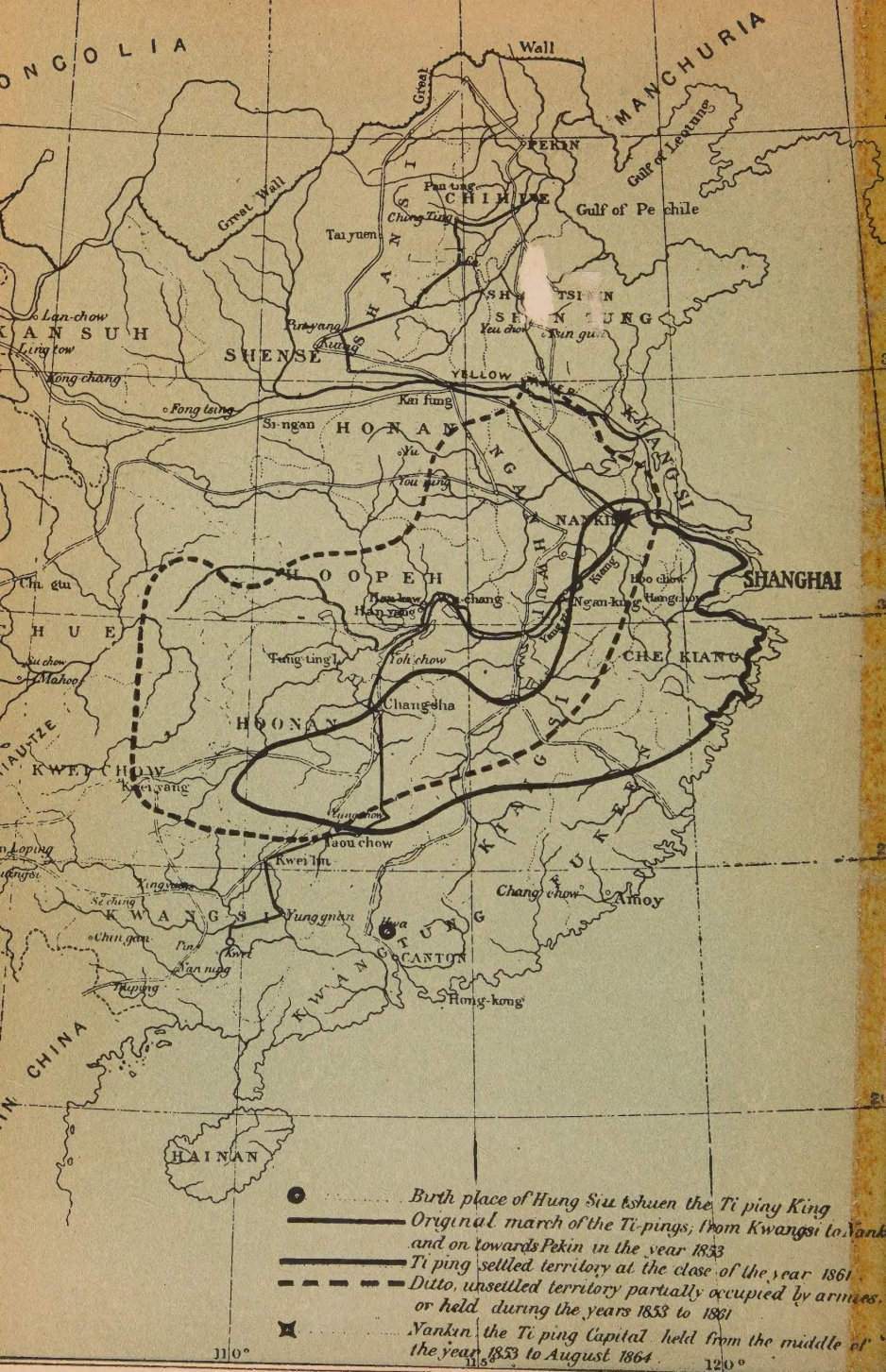

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CANTON
KWANGTUNG
Chang chow
Amoy
FUKEEN
Hong-kong
CHINA
HAINAN
Birth place of Hung Siu tshuen the Ti ping King
Original march of the Ti-pings; from Kwangsi to Nank
and on towards Pekin in the year 1853
Ti ping settled territory at the close of the year 1861
Ditto, unsettled territory partially occupied by armies,
or held during the years 1853 to 1861
Nankin the Ti ping Capital held from the middle of
the year 1853 to August 1864
110°
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FIELD OF CAMPAIGNS
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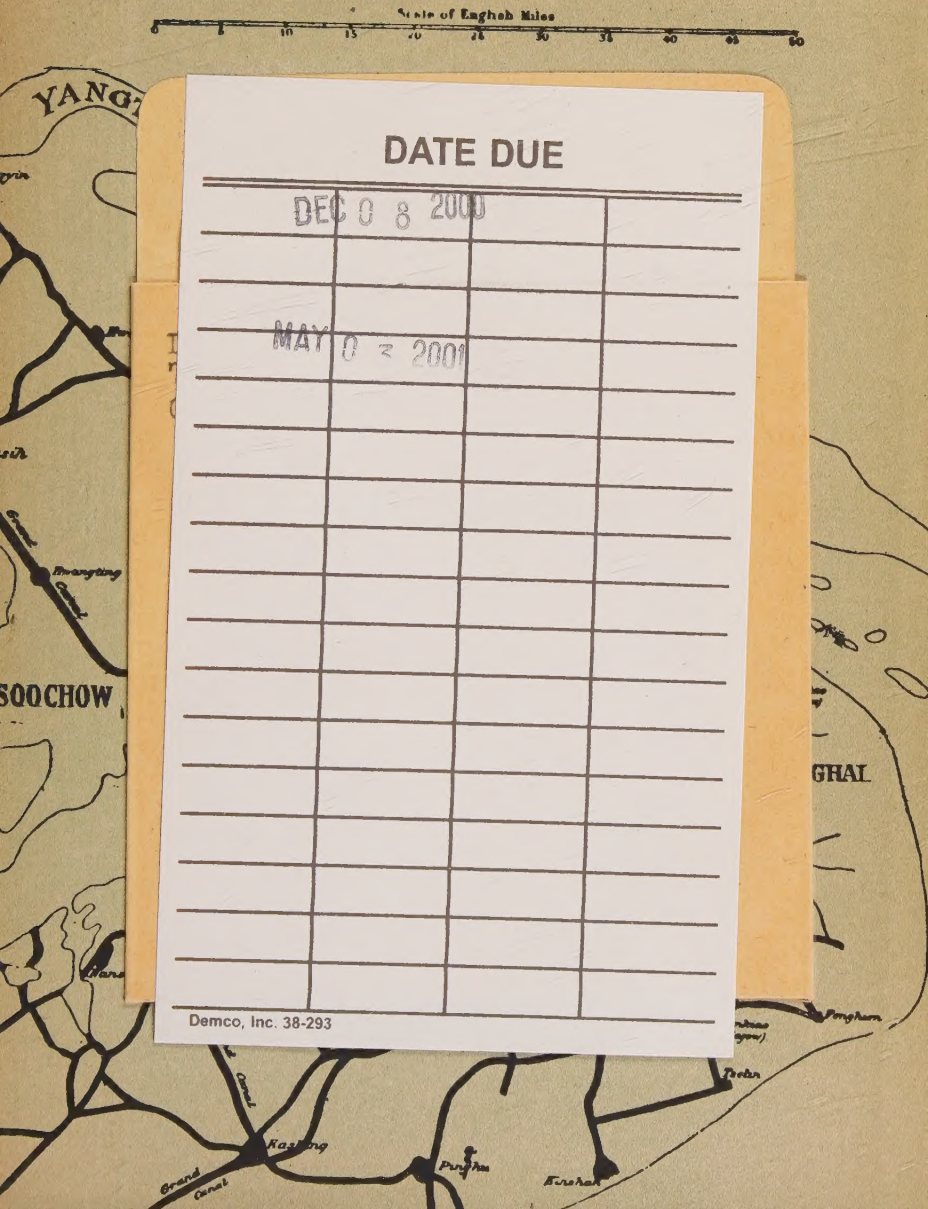

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